

THE
GREAT WORKS
OF
RAPHAEL.

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philosophy by Trenchard & Gordon

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THE GREAT WORKS OF
RAPHAEL SANZIO OF URBINO;

A SERIES OF TWENTY PHOTOGRAPHS FROM
THE BEST ENGRAVINGS OF HIS MOST
CELEBRATED PAINTINGS;

WITH THE LIFE WRITTEN BY GIORGIO VASARI, TRANSLATED, WITH NOTES
AND ILLUSTRATIONS, BY MRS. JONATHAN FOSTER.

AND AN APPENDIX CONTAINING A COMPLETE LIST OF THE AUTHENTICATED
WORKS OF RAPHAEL, TRANSLATED FROM PASSAVANT'S
"RAFAEL VON URBINO UND SEIN VATER."



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P R E F A C E .

THE world never tires of its best work. For more than three centuries the paintings of Raphael have been the admiration of mankind; they have been reproduced in every country and in every variety of style, and they are ever welcome. The famous engravings from his most celebrated works, by Raphael Morghen, Longhi, Desnoyers, Garavaglia, Müller, Toschi, and other eminent men, delighted connoisseurs for many years, and are reckoned among the foremost achievements of the engraver's art; but now they have become very rare, and can only be seen in the portfolios of the wealthy. Luckily for all lovers of art a new aid has lately sprung up which offers the present generation wonderful advantages. The marvellous power of Photography has never been more beautifully shown than in the reproduction of these magnificent engravings. Line


for line the miniature copy reproduces the work of the original; and though the grandeur and brilliancy of the first proofs cannot be obtained, a delicate and most thoroughly accurate transcript is secured, which charms and satisfies the most critical eye.

The Editor of the present work has chosen twenty of the most justly celebrated of Raphael's works to illustrate the present volume, and hopes that in their new form they will be admired and loved as much as they have ever been.





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Photographed by Cundall and Fleming.





LIFE OF THE FLORENTINE PAINTER AND
ARCHITECT, RAPHAEL SANZIO
OF URBINO.

HE large and liberal hand wherewith Heaven is sometimes pleased to accumulate the infinite riches of its treasures on the head of one sole favourite,—showering on him all those rare gifts and graces which are more commonly distributed among a larger number of individuals, and accorded at long intervals of time only,—has been clearly exemplified in the well-known instance of Raphael Sanzio of Urbino.

No less excellent than graceful, he was endowed by nature with all that modesty and goodness which may occasionally be perceived in those few favoured persons who enhance the gracious sweetness of a disposition more than usually gentle, by the fair ornament of a winning amenity, always ready to conciliate, and constantly giving evidence of the most refined consideration for all persons and under every circumstance. The world received the gift of this artist from the hand of nature when, vanquished by art in the person of Michael Angelo, she deigned to be subjugated in that of Raphael, not by art only but by goodness also. And of a truth, since the

greater number of artists had up to that period derived from nature a certain rudeness and eccentricity which not only rendered them uncouth and fantastic, but often caused the shadows and darkness of vice to be more conspicuous in their lives than the light and splendour of those virtues by which man is rendered immortal; so was there good cause wherefore she should, on the contrary, make all the rarest qualities of the heart to shine resplendently in her Raphael, perfecting them by so much diffidence, grace, application to study, and excellence of life, that these alone would have sufficed to veil or neutralize every fault, however important, and to efface all defects, however glaring they might have been. Truly may we affirm that those who are the possessors of endowments so rich and varied as were assembled in the person of Raphael, are scarcely to be called simple men only, they are rather, if it be permitted so to speak, entitled to the appellation of mortal gods; and further are we authorized to declare, that he who by means of his works has left an honoured name in the records of fame here below, may also hope to enjoy such rewards in heaven as are commensurate to and worthy of their labours and merits.

Raphael was born at Urbino, a most renowned city of Italy, on Good Friday¹ of the year 1483, at three o'clock of the night.² His father was a certain Giovanni Sanzio, a painter of no great eminence in his art,³ but a man of sufficient intelligence, nevertheless, and per-

¹ On the 28th of March, according to the Julian Calendar, but by the Astronomical Tables, on the 26th. Longhena, *Istoria*, &c. di Raffaello Sanzio del Sig. Quatrémère de Quincy. Milan, 1829.

² About nine in the evening at this season of the year, the Italians commencing the enumeration of the hours at one hour after sunset.

³ As compared with his son, that is to say; but on comparing the works of Giovanni with those of the masters his contemporaries, he will be seen to have been rather a good than a merely tolerable painter. Paintings from his hand are still to be seen at Urbino,

fectly competent to direct his children into that good way which had not for his misfortune been laid open to himself in his younger days. And first, as he knew how important it is that a child should be nourished by the milk of its own mother, and not by that of the hired nurse,¹ so he determined when his son Raphael (to whom he gave that name at his baptism, as being one of good augury) was born to him, that the mother of the child,² he having no other, as indeed he never had more,³ should herself be the nurse of the child. Giovanni further desired that in its tender years the boy should rather be brought up to the habits of his own family, and beneath his paternal roof, than be sent where he must acquire habits and manners less refined, and modes of thought less commendable, in the houses of the peasantry, or other untaught persons.⁴ As the child became older, Giovanni began to instruct him in the first principles of painting,

as well as in Fano, Pesaro, Montefiore, Gradara, and Cagli, with some others in the Brera (Milan). See Passavant, *Rafael von Urbino und sein Vater Giovanni Santi*. Leipzig, 1839, vol. i. See also the Appendix to that work.

¹ The pertinence of this remark will be more obvious if we remember that, while in our own country the practice of employing hired nurses is comparatively rare, and is usually confined to cases of strict necessity, on the continent, but more especially in France, it is, on the contrary, the almost invariable practice of matrons in all ranks to confide their infants to the care of the hireling.

² The mother of Raphael was Magia, daughter of Giovanni-Battista Ciarla; she died in 1491, when Giovanni Sanzio married Bernardina, daughter of the gold-worker, Pietro di Parte; this woman is said by some writers to have caused Raphael much vexation at a later period, and after his father's death; by others she is affirmed, on the contrary, to have been at all times among his best friends.—See Passavant, *ut supra*. See also Longhena, *Istoria, &c. di Raffaello Sanzio del Sig. Quattrémère de Quincy*. Milan, 1829.

³ When Raphael was born, Giovanni Sanzio had already one son, but this child died in 1485. He had afterwards one, or, as some authors say, two daughters.

⁴ We have numerous testimonies to the fact that Giovanni was a man of refined habits and highly cultivated mind. See, among other writers, Pungileoni, *Elogio Storico di Giovanni Santi Pittore e Poeta, &c.* Urbino, 1822.

perceiving that he was much inclined to that art and finding him to be endowed with a most admirable genius; few years had passed therefore before Raphael, though still but a child, became a valuable assistant to his father in the numerous works which the latter executed in the State of Urbino.¹

At length this good and affectionate parent, knowing that his son would acquire but little of his art from himself, resolved to place him with Pietro Perugino,² who, according to what Giovanni had been told, was then considered to hold the first place among the painters of the time. Wherefore, proceeding to Perugia for that purpose, and finding Pietro to be absent from the city, he occupied himself, to the end that he might await the return of the master with the less inconvenience, in the execution of certain works for the Church of San Francesco³ in that place. But when Pietro had returned to Perugia, Giovanni, who was a person of very good manners and pleasing deportment,⁴ soon formed an amicable acquaint-

¹ Since Giovanni died in 1494, when Raphael was but eleven years old, the latter could not have assisted his father in any but the most unimportant labours of their vocation, unless indeed we are to suppose in him an instance of that precocity of genius which is exemplified in Mozart and some few others, whose powers have been developed in their earliest youth, but who have for the most part become exhausted before the attainment of more than half the common age of man.—*Schorn*.

² The best authorities affirm that Raphael received his first instructions from Luca Signorelli and Timoteo Viti, who were at that time in Urbino; they add that he was placed with Perugino by the care of his uncle Simone Ciarla, and that of his guardian, Don Bartolommeo.

³ It cannot now be ascertained that there has ever been any work in Perugia by Giovanni Sanzio, nor is the visit to Perugia here described authenticated by any known documents.

⁴ Many writers concur to prove that Giovanni Sanzio was, as we have said, a man of gentle disposition, refined habits, and pleasing manners; he was also a follower of the muses, and composed "a work not without merit," observes an Italian commentator, "to the praise of the Count and Duke of Urbino." Dr. Gaye has likewise made mention of a Chronicle in Rhyme, by Giovanni Sanzio. See the *Kunstblatt* for 1836 No. 86.

tanceship with him, and when the proper opportunity arrived, made known to him the desire he had conceived, in the most suitable manner that he could devise. Thereupon Pietro, who was also exceedingly courteous, as well as a lover of fine genius, agreed to accept the care of Raphael; Giovanni then returned to Urbino; and having taken the boy, though not without many tears from his mother, who loved him tenderly, he conducted him to Perugia; when Pietro no sooner beheld his manner of drawing, and observed the pleasing deportment of the youth, than he conceived that opinion of him which was in due time so amply confirmed by the results produced in the after life of Raphael.¹

It is a well-known fact that while studying the manner of Pietro, Raphael imitated it so exactly at all points, that his copies cannot be distinguished from the original works of the master,² nor can the difference between the performances of Raphael and those of Pietro be discerned with any certainty. This is proved clearly by certain figures still to be seen in Perugia, and which the former executed in a picture painted in oil in the Church of San Francesco, for Madonna Maddalena degl' Oddi.³ The subject of this work is the Assumption of the Virgin, and the figures here alluded to are those of Our Lady and of the Saviour himself, who is in the act of crowning her; beneath them and around the tomb are the Apostles, who contemplate the celestial glory, and at the foot of the painting, in a predella divided into three stories, is the Virgin receiving the Annunciation

¹ For this portion of Raphael's life, and for details respecting his fellow students, see Passavant, *Rafael von Urbino*, &c. lib. lv.

² Minute details respecting the earliest works of Raphael in Perugia will be found in Passavant, *ut supra*.

³ This picture was among those transported to Paris, but when restored to Italy was "not replaced in Perugia, but taken possession of by Rome," observes a justly dissatisfied native of the former city.

from the Angel, the Adoration of the Magi, and the Infant Christ in the Temple, with Simeon, who receives the Divine Child into his arms. This painting is without doubt executed with extraordinary diligence, and all who have not a thorough knowledge of the manner of Pietro will assuredly take it to be a work of that master, whereas it is most certainly by the hand of Raphael.¹

After the completion of this picture, Pietro repaired for certain of his occasions to Florence, when Raphael departed from Perugia and proceeded with several of his friends to Città di Castello, where he painted a picture, in the same manner, for the church of Sant' Agostino, with one representing the crucified Saviour for that of San Domenico ; which last, if it were not for the name of Raphael written upon it, would be supposed by every one to be a work of Pietro Perugino.² For the church of San Francesco in the same city he painted a small picture representing the espousals of Our Lady, and in this work the progress of excellence may be distinctly traced in the manner of Raphael, which is here much refined, and greatly surpasses that of Pietro.³ In the painting here in question, there is a church drawn in perspective with so much care that one cannot but feel amazed at the difficulty of the problem which the artist has set himself to solve.

While Raphael was thus acquiring the greatest fame by the pursuit of this manner, the painting of the library belonging to the

¹ Now in the Vatican.

² The picture painted for Sant' Agostino represented the coronation of St. Nicholas of Tolentino, who tramples the figure of Lucifer beneath his feet, while the Almighty Father is seen in the heavens above. This work was lost amidst the disorders of the French domination, in the first years of the present century. The Crucifix was formerly in the collection of Cardinal Fesch.

³ This is the celebrated picture of the "Sposalizio," now in the Brera.



THE MARRIAGE OF THE VIRGIN.

IN THE BRERA, MILAN.

Cathedral of Siena had been entrusted by Pope Pius III.¹ to Benardino Pinturicchio, who was a friend of Raphael's, and, knowing him to be an excellent designer, took the latter with him to Siena. Here Raphael made Pinturicchio certain of the designs and cartoons for that work;² nor would the young artist have failed to continue there, but for the reports which had reached him concerning Leonardo da Vinci, of whose merits he heard many painters of Siena speak in terms of the highest praise. They more especially celebrated the cartoon which Leonardo had prepared in the Sala del Papa at Florence, for a most beautiful group of horses which was to be executed for the Great Hall of the Palace. They likewise mentioned another cartoon, representing nude figures, and made by Michael Angelo Buonarroti, in competition with Leonardo, whom he had on that occasion greatly surpassed. These discourses awakened in Raphael so ardent a desire to behold the works thus commended, that, moved by the love he ever bore to excellence in art, and setting aside all thought of his own interest or convenience, he at once proceeded to Florence.³

Arrived in that place, he found the city please him equally with the works he had come to see, although the latter appeared to him divine; he therefore determined to remain there for some time, and

¹ Then Cardinal Francesco Piccolomini, who afterwards became Pope Pius III.

² It will be found that in the life of Pinturicchio, Vasari attributes to Raphael *all* the designs and cartoons for this work.

³ The first visit of Raphael to Florence took place in 1504, as we learn from a letter bearing date 1st October in that year, from Giovanna, Duchess of Sora, sister of the Duke of Urbino, to Piero Soderini, who was then Gonfaloniere of the Florentine Republic, which Raphael took with him, and wherein she calls the painter himself "a discreet and amiable youth." The cartoons prepared by Leonardo da Vinci and Michael Angelo, in competition with each other, were not completed till the year 1506. See, for more minute details respecting this period of the life of Raphael, Longhena, *Istoria della Vita*, &c, Munich, 1824; Rehberg, *Rafael Sanzio*; Platner and Bunsen, *Beschreibung der Stadt Rom*; Passavant, Pungileoni, and others.

soon formed a friendly intimacy with several young painters, among whom were Ridolfo Ghirlandajo, Aristotele San Gallo, and others. He was, indeed, much esteemed in that city, but above all by Taddeo Taddei,¹ who, being a great admirer of distinguished talent, desired to have him always in his house and at his table. Thereupon Raphael, who was kindness itself, that he might not be surpassed in generosity and courtesy, painted two pictures for Taddeo, wherein there are traces of his first manner, derived from Pietro, and also of that much better one which he acquired at a later period by study, as will be related hereafter. These pictures are still carefully preserved by the heirs of the above-named Taddeo.² Raphael also formed a close friendship with Lorenzo Nasi; and the latter, having taken a wife at that time, Raphael painted a picture for him, wherein he represented Our Lady with the Infant Christ, to whom San Giovanni, also a child, is joyously offering a bird, which is causing infinite delight and gladness to both the children. In the attitude of each there is a childlike simplicity of the utmost loveliness: they are besides so admirably coloured, and finished with so much care, that they seem more like living beings than mere paintings. Equally good is the figure of the Madonna: it has an air of singular grace and even divinity, while all the rest of the work—the foreground, the surrounding landscape, and every other particular, are exceedingly beautiful.³ This picture was

¹ What Vasari here relates must have taken place at a subsequent period, perhaps on the occasion of Raphael's second, or, as some say, third visit, when he remained in Florence from 1506 to 1508, and may then have seen the Cartoons of Leonardo and Michael Angelo.

² They were both pictures of the Madonna, one is in the gallery of the Belvidere, at Vienna; the other, which represents the whole of the Holy Family, is in the Bridgewater collection.

³ Our readers will remember that this is among the most admired works now adorning the Tribune of the Florentine Gallery.



THE MADONNA WITH THE GOLDFINCH.

IN THE FLORENCE GALLERY.

held in the highest estimation by Lorenzo Nasi so long as he lived, not only because it was a memorial of Raphael, who had been so much his friend, but on account of the dignity and excellence of the whole composition : but on the 9th of August, in the year 1548, the work was destroyed by the sinking down of the hill of San Giorgio ; when the house of Lorenzo was overwhelmed by the fallen masses, together with the beautiful and richly decorated dwelling of the heirs of Marco del Nero, and many other buildings. It is true that the fragments of the picture were found among the ruins of the house, and were put together in the best manner that he could contrive, by Batista the son of Lorenzo, who was a great lover of art.

After having completed these works, Raphael was himself compelled to leave Florence and repair to Urbino, where his mother and Giovanni his father having both died, his affairs were in much confusion.¹ While thus abiding in Urbino, he painted two pictures of the Madonna for Guidobaldo of Montefeltro, who was then Captain-general of the Florentines ; these pictures are both small, but are exceedingly beautiful examples of Raphael's second manner ; they are now in the possession of the most illustrious and most excellent Guidobaldo, Duke of Urbino.² For the same noble, the master executed another small picture, representing Christ praying in the garden, with three of the Apostles, who are sleeping at some distance,³ and which is so beautifully painted that it could scarcely be either

¹ For various details respecting this period of Raphael's life, see Passavant, *Rafael von Urbino und sein Vater*, &c.

² The authorities in this question are inclined to believe that one of these pictures is now in the Imperial Gallery of St. Petersburg ; the other is said to be in England. Leclanchè suggests that these may be the Madonnas engraved by Crozat.

³ This work, which belongs to those executed in the early manner of the master, is now in Rome, in the possession of the Prince Gabrielli.—*Passavant*.

better or otherwise were it even in miniature. After having been long in the possession of Francesco Maria, Duke of Urbino, this picture was presented by the most illustrious lady, his consort, the Duchess Leonora, to the Venetians, Don Paolo Giustiniano and Don Pietro Quirini, brothers of the Holy Hermitage of Camaldoli, and was placed by them, like a relic or sacred thing, in the apartments of the principal of that Hermitage, where it remains, honoured both as a memorial of that illustrious lady and as being from the hand of Raphael of Urbino.

Having completed these works and arranged his affairs, Raphael returned to Perugia, where he painted a picture of Our Lady with San Giovanni Battista and San Niccolò, for the Chapel of the Ansidei Family, in the Church of the Servites:¹ and at the Monastery of San Severo, a small Convent of the Order of Camaldoli, in the same city, he painted a fresco for the Chapel of Our Lady. The subject of this work is Christ in Glory, with God the Father, surrounded by Angels, and six figures of Saints seated, three on each side: San Benedetto, San Romualdo, and San Lorenzo, on the one side namely; with San Girolamo, San Mauro, and San Placido, on the other. Beneath this picture, which, for a work in fresco, was then considered very beautiful, Raphael wrote his name in large and clearly legible letters.² In the same city Raphael was commissioned to paint a picture of Our Lady by the nuns of Sant' Antonio of Padua; the

¹ Now in the possession of the Duke of Marlborough at Blenheim: it bears the date 1505; on the Predella is the preaching of John the Baptist, but this part of the work is or was in the collection of Lord Lansdowne.

² Having suffered much injury, this fresco was restored some years since by the painter, Giuseppe Carattoli. The upper part only was painted by Raphael, the lowermost portion being the work of Perugino. The inscription was not added until after Raphael's death. See *Passavant*.



THE HOLY FAMILY, WITH THE PALM-TREE.

IN THE BRIDGEWATER GALLERY.

Infant Christ is in the lap of the Virgin and is fully clothed, as it pleased those simple and pious ladies that he should be ; on each side of Our Lady are figures of saints, San Pietro namely, with San Paolo, Santa Cecilia, and Santa Catarina.¹ To these two holy virgins the master has given the most lovely features and most graceful attitudes ; he has also adorned them with the most fanciful and varied head-dresses that could be imagined—a very unusual thing at that time. In a lunette above this picture he painted a figure of the Almighty Father, which is extremely fine, and on the Predella are three scenes from the history of Christ, in very small figures. The first of these represents the Saviour praying in the garden ; in the second he is seen bearing the cross, and here the movements and attitudes of certain soldiers who are dragging him along, are singularly beautiful ; the third shows him lying dead in the lap of the Madonna.² The whole work is without doubt very admirable : it is full of devout feeling, and is held in the utmost veneration by the nuns for whom it was painted.³ It is very highly commended by all painters likewise.

But I will not omit to mention in this place, that after Raphael had been to Florence, he is known to have much changed and improved his manner, from having seen the many works by excellent masters to be found in that city ; nay, the manner afterwards adopted by him was so little in common with his earlier one, that the works

¹ An Italian writer calls this figure St. Margaret ; the German commentators on the contrary, though equally declaring that it does not represent St. Cecilia, consider it to be intended for St. Rosalie, but the garland of flowers which it bears, and which might seem to imply that this opinion is well-founded, is in fact also worn of right by St. Cecilia, as it is by St. Dorothea, and perhaps, by other saints. This part of the painting is now at Naples, in the Museo Borbonico.

² This portion of the work is in England.—*Passavant*.

³ But was sold by their successors in the convent for two thousand scudi.

executed in the latter might be supposed to be by a different hand, and one much less excellent in the art.

Before Raphael had left Perugia, he had been requested by Madonna Atalanta Baglioni to paint a picture for her chapel in the church of San Francesco,¹ but as he could not at that time comply with her wishes, he promised that on his return from Florence, whither he was then obliged to proceed for certain affairs, he would not fail to do so. While in Florence, therefore, where he devoted himself with indescribable energy and application to the studies connected with his art, he prepared the cartoon for this chapel, with the intention of proceeding to execute it in San Francesco on the first opportunity that might present itself for doing so, a work which he afterwards accomplished.

While Raphael was thus sojourning in Florence, Agnolo Doni was dwelling in that city; now Agnolo was averse to spending money for other things, but for paintings or sculptures, in which he greatly delighted, he would willingly pay, although he still did so as frugally as was possible. By him, therefore, Raphael was commissioned to paint a portrait of himself, as well as that of his wife, and both were executed, as we now see them; they are in the possession of Agnolo's son, Giovanni Battista, in the house which Agnolo built most handsomely and commodiously, at the corner of the Alberti, in the street of the Dyers, in Florence.²

For Domenico Canigiani, Raphael also painted a picture wherein he represented the Madonna with the Infant Christ: the divine Child

¹ "Vasari is mistaken," remarks Bottari, "the church is that of San Bernardino, and not San Francesco."—*Roman Edition of Vasari*, 1759.

² They were sold by the descendants of Agnolo Doni to Leopold II, Grand Duke of Tuscany, and now make part of the magnificent collection in the Pitti Palace. They are engraved in Longhena. See Passavant.



SAINT CATHERINE OF ALEXANDRIA.

IN THE NATIONAL GALLERY.

is caressing the little San Giovanni, who is brought to him by Santa Elizabeth; and the latter, while holding the boy, looks with a most animated countenance at St. Joseph, who stands leaning with both hands on his staff; he bends his head towards her with an expression of astonishment and of praise to God, whose greatness had bestowed this young child on a mother already so far advanced in years. All appear to be amazed at the manner in which the two cousins treat each other at an age so tender, the one evincing his reverence for the Saviour, the other affectionately caressing his companion. Every touch of the pencil in the heads, hands, and feet of this work has produced such effect that the parts seem rather to be of the living flesh than the mere colours of the painter, however able a master of his art. This most noble picture is now in the possession of the heirs of Domenico Canigiani, by whom it is held in all that esteem which is due to a work of Raphael of Urbino.¹

While in the city of Florence, this most excellent painter studied the ancient works of Masaccio, and what he saw in the labours of Leonardo and Michael Angelo caused him still more zealously to prosecute his studies; he consequently attained to an extraordinary amelioration of manner, and made still further progress in art. Among other artists, Raphael formed a close intimacy with Fra Bartolommeo di San Marco, during his abode in Florence, the manner of that master pleasing him greatly, wherefore he took no small pains to imitate his colouring, teaching that good father on his part the rules of perspective, to which the monk had not previously given his attention.

But just when this intercourse was most frequent and intimate,

¹ This work is believed by certain Italian writers to be at Rome, in the possession of the Marchese Rinuccini, but that picture is declared by other authorities to be a copy only, the original being, as they affirm, in the Pinacoteca at Munich. See Passavant. See also Rumohr, *Italienische Forschungen*, vol. iii. p. 65.

Raphael was recalled to Perugia; here the first work which he performed was that in the church of San Francesco, where he completed the painting promised to the above named Madonna Atalanta Baglioni, for which he had prepared the cartoon in Florence, as we have said. In this most divine picture there is a dead Christ, whom they are bearing to the sepulchre, the body painted with so much care and freshness that it appears to have been only just completed. When occupied with the composition of this work, Raphael had imagined to himself all the grief and pain with which the nearest and most affectionate relatives see borne to the tomb, the corpse of one who has been most dear to them, and on whom has, in truth, depended all the honour and welfare of the entire family. Our Lady is seen to be sinking insensible, and the heads of all the weeping figures are exceedingly graceful; that of San Giovanni more particularly, his hands are clasped together and he bends his head with an expression which cannot but move the hardest heart to compassion. Truly may we say that whoever shall consider the diligence and love, the art and grace exhibited in this work, has good reason to feel astonishment, and it does indeed awaken admiration in all who behold it, not only for the expression of the heads, but for the beauty of the draperies, and in short for the perfection of excellence which it displays in all its parts.¹

When Raphael, having completed his work, had returned to Florence, he received a commission from the Dei, Florentine citizens, to paint the altar-piece for their chapel in the church of Santo Spirito: this painting the master commenced and made considerable progress

¹ This justly celebrated work was purchased by Pope Paul V, for the Borghese Gallery, where it long remained. The tympan belonging to this picture, representing God the Father, with uplifted hands, is still in the Church of San Francesco, at Perugia. The Predella is in the Vatican.—*Passavant*.



THE ENTOMBMENT.

IN THE BORGHESE PALACE, ROME.

with the sketch for it,¹ he likewise prepared a picture at the same time which was afterwards sent to Siena, but had first to be left with Ridolfo Ghirlandajo, on the departure of Raphael, to the end that he might finish an azure vestment which was still wanting when Raphael left Florence.² And this last event happened from the circumstance that Bramante of Urbino, being in the service of pope Julius II, for some little relationship that he had with Raphael and because they were of the same place, had written to the latter, informing him that he had prevailed with the Pope to entrust certain rooms which the Pontiff had caused to be built in the Vatican to his care, and that therein he might give evidence of his ability. The proposal gratified Raphael, and he left his works in Florence unfinished, the picture for the Dei family among the rest, but this last was in such a state that Messer Baldassare da Pescia afterwards, on the death of Raphael that is to say, caused it to be placed in the chapter-house of his native city.³ The master then proceeded to Rome, where he found, on his arrival, that a large part of the rooms in the palace had already been

¹ This is the picture called the *Madonna del Baldachino*, now in the Pitti Palace, and still in its unfinished state, although much restored : the work remained in Pescia until the end of the seventeenth century, when it was purchased at a very high price by the Grand Duke Ferdinand. The restoration was effected by G. A. Cassana. See Passavant, *ut supra*.

² The picture sent to Siena is that called *La Belle Jardinière*, purchased by Francis I. of France, and now in the Louvre. For the conflicting opinions respecting the work painted by Ridolfo Ghirlandajo, see Passavant, Waagen, *Kunstwerke und Künstler* in Paris, and Rumohr, who agrees with the latter in the belief that the *Madonna* of the Colonna Palace is that completed by Ridolfo Ghirlandajo. Engraved by Desnoyers.

³ Pungileoni, *Vita di Raffaello*, affirms that Bramante was not related to Raphael, and was but his fellow townsman and acquaintance ; other writers suggest that the introduction to Julius II. was most probably effected by the young Duke of Urbino, Francesco Maria della Rovere, to whom Raphael had been known from childhood.

painted, or were in process of being painted, by different masters. In one of these apartments, for example, there was an historical picture completed by Piero della Francesca; Luca da Cortona¹ had made considerable progress in the painting of one side of another; Don Pietro della Gatta,² abbot of San Clemente in Arezzo, had also commenced certain works in the same place, and Bramantino of Milan had painted numerous figures there, the greater part of which were portraits from the life, which were considered to be exceedingly beautiful.³ On his arrival in Rome, Raphael was received with much kindness by Pope Julius, and commenced a picture in the chamber of the Segnatura, the subject of which is, Theologians engaged in the reconciliation of Philosophy and Astrology with Theology.⁴ In this work are depicted all the sages of the world, arranged in different groups, and occupied with various disputations. There are certain astrologers standing apart who have made figures and characters of geomancy⁵ and astrology, on tablets which they send by beautiful angels to the evangelists, who explain them.⁶ Among the figures in

¹ Of this work, Vasari does not make mention in the life of Luca da Cortona (Luca Signorelli), which precedes that of Raphael.

² Don Bartolommeo della Gatta, in whose life Vasari speaks only of works in the Sistine Chapel, omitting all mention of those here alluded to.

³ There is much confusion in this passage. Piero della Francesca and Bramantino having painted in the Vatican under Pope Nicholas V, Bartolommeo della Gatta and Luca Signorelli under Sixtus IV, and only Perugino and Sodoma during the pontificate of Julius II. See Platner and Bunsen, *Beschreibung der Stadt Rom*.

⁴ The school of Athens.

⁵ Geometrical and astronomical figures are here meant. Astronomy and astrology were identical, as our readers will remember, when our author wrote, in the ideas of all but the learned.

⁶ "What a medley!" exclaims one of the angry Italians, at this description, "he has coupled the Evangelists with Diogenes and Plato," and that our author is somewhat confused in his description of this painting, cannot be denied; he has mingled the personages of the *Dispute* with those of the *Scuola di Atene*; but his compatriots have fallen on him for the same with so little mercy, that we may spare him any further reproaches, and



LA BELLE JARDINIÈRE.

IN THE LOUVRE.

this painting is Diogenes with his cup; he is lying on the steps, an extremely well-imagined figure, wrapt in his own thoughts, and much to be commended for the beauty of the form and characteristic negligence of the garments. There are likewise Aristotle and Plato in this work, the one with the *Timæus*, the other with the *Ethics* in his hand; around them is gathered in a circle a large school of philosophers. The dignity of those astrologers and geometricians who are drawing various figures and characters with the compasses on a tablet, is not to be described: among these is the figure of a youth of the most graceful beauty, who extends his arms in admiration and inclines his head; this is the portrait of Federigo, second Duke of Mantua, who was at that time in Rome. There is also a figure stooping to the ground and drawing lines with a pair of compasses which he holds in his hands; this is said to be the architect Bramante, and is no less life-like than that of Federigo previously described, or than it would be if it were indeed alive. Beside him is one whose back is turned towards the spectator, and who holds a globe of the heavens in his hand: this is the representation of Zoroaster; and near to this figure stands that of Raphael himself, the master of this work, drawn by his own hand with the aid of a mirror; a youthful head of exceedingly modest expression wearing a black cap or barett, the whole aspect infinitely pleasing and graceful.¹

the rather, as we have ample means for the rectification of his mistakes in the numerous "biographies," "treatises," and dissertations in every form, on the works of the Prince of Painters which abound in all languages. See Richardson, *Treatise on Painting and Sculpture*, Amsterdam, 1728; Duppa, *Life of Raffaello Sanzio*, London, 1816; Bellori, *Descrizione delle Immagini depinte da Raffaello da Urbino, nel Palazzo Vaticano*, &c, Rome, 1672; Rehberg. Quatremère de Quincy. Platner and Bunsen; Passavant, with many others.

¹ The figure of Raphael is in the angle of the picture and to the right of the spectator; the older man beside him, and dressed in a similar manner, is his master, Pietro Perugino.

It would not be possible to describe the beauty and nobility of character which the master has imparted to the heads and figures of the Evangelists ; there is a certain air of meditative thought and attentive consideration on the countenances, more especially of those who are writing, which is depicted with the utmost truth. This may be more particularly remarked in a St. Matthew, who is copying the characters from the tablet which an angel holds before him,¹ these he is setting down in a book. Behind him is an old man² who has placed a paper on his knee, and in this he is inserting what St. Matthew³ writes, as the latter makes his extracts from the tablet : intent on his occupation, he remains in this inconvenient attitude, and seems to be twisting his head and jaws as if to accompany the movements of his pen. And to say nothing of all these well-considered minutiae, of which there are nevertheless very many, the composition of the whole work displays so much beauty of proportion and such perfection of arrangement in every part, that the master did indeed give a notable example of his capabilities therein, and clearly proved himself to be one who had resolved to maintain the undisputed possession of the field against all who handled the pencil ; furthermore the artist adorned this work with fine perspective views of magnificent buildings and with numerous figures, all finished in a manner so delicate and harmonious, that the excellence of the work caused Pope Julius to have all the stories of the other masters, whether old or new, destroyed at once, resolving that

¹ "Another blunder," exclaims one of the Florentine critics ; but it is only the continuation of that previously noted, and for which our good Giorgio has already been sufficiently castigated.

² This figure has been usually called Empedocles, but Passavant will have it to represent Archytas.

³ Vasari here means to indicate the figure of Pythagoras, which is in the foremost group of the School of Athens, and to the right of the spectator.



THE SCHOOL OF ATHENS.

IN THE VATICAN, ROME.

Raphael alone should have the glory of seeing his works preferred to all that had been done in paintings of that description up to his own time.¹

Above the painting by Raphael, here described, was a work by Giovanni Antonio Sodoma, of Vercelli,² and which ought to have been destroyed in obedience to the commands of the Pope, but Raphael nevertheless determined to retain the compartments as he found them, and to use the arabesques which Giovanni Antonio had employed as decorations; there were besides four circular divisions, and in each of these Raphael depicted a figure, having relation to the picture which was immediately beneath it. In the first of these circular compartments, which is above the picture wherein the painter has delineated Philosophy, Astrology, Geometry, and Poetry, forming a union with Theology, is a female figure representing Knowledge:³ on each side of this figure, which is seated, is a statue of the goddess Cybele, with the form of breast usually attributed by the ancients to Diana Polymastes;⁴ the vestments are of four colours, to indicate the four elements; from the head downwards they are flame colour, to intimate fire; beneath the girdle is the colour of the air; from the lap to the knees is that of earth; and the remainder to the feet has the colour of water; these figures are accompanied by very beautiful boys.

¹ The first picture painted by Raphael in Rome was not the School of Athens, according to the authorities now considered of the greatest weight, but rather the *Disputa*, which Vasari describes as executed at a later period.

² Vasari is here describing the decorations of the ceiling.

³ Vasari has here returned to the School of Athens, over which is the figure of Philosophy; over the Disputation respecting the Sacrament, is that of Theology; Poetry is placed over the Parnassus; and over the allegory of Jurisprudence is the figure of Justice.

⁴ The all-sustaining Diana.

In another circle, that turned towards the window which looks upon the Belvedere, is depicted Poetry, represented under the form of Polyhymnia; she is crowned with laurel, in one hand she holds the antique lyre, and has a book in the other, the limbs are crossed, and the face, which is of superhuman beauty, is turned upwards with the eyes raised to heaven. This figure also is accompanied by two boys, who are full of life and spirit; these children assist to form with her, as do those attending on the other figures, a group of richly varied beauty; and on this side Raphael afterwards painted the Mount Parnassus over the above-mentioned window.

In the circle which is over the picture wherein the holy doctors are reading mass, is a figure of Theology, with books and other objects around her, accompanied in like manner by the boys, which are no less beautiful than those before referred to; above the other window which looks towards the court, is placed the figure of Justice, in the fourth circle namely; she bears the balance in one hand and holds the sword raised aloft in the other; the boys are with her as with the previously cited figures, and are of supreme beauty. On the wall beneath is represented the delivery of the civil and canon law, as will be related in its due place.

In the angles of the ceiling Raphael likewise executed four historical pictures, designed and coloured with extraordinary care, but the figures are not of a large size:¹ in one of these, that next the Theology, the master has depicted the sin of Adam in eating the apple, and this he has executed in a very graceful manner. In the second, which is above the Astrology, is the figure of that Science; she is assigning their due places to the planets and fixed stars. In the one belonging to the Mount Parnassus is the figure of Marsyas, fastened

¹ See Passavant, *Rafael von Urbino*, where minute details, such as cannot here find place, will be found respecting all these works.

to a tree, and about to be flayed by Apollo ; and near the picture which represents the promulgation of the Decretals, is the judgment of Solomon, when he decides that the infant shall be divided between the contending mothers. All these four delineations exhibit much thought and feeling ; they are admirably drawn, and the colouring is pleasing and graceful.

But having now finished the description of the vaulting or ceiling of that apartment, it remains that we declare what was executed on each wall consecutively, and beneath the works indicated above. On the side towards the Belvedere, where are the Mount Parnassus and the Fountain of Helicon, the master depicted a laurel grove of very deep shadows, and the verdure of the foliage is so finely painted that the spectator almost fancies himself to perceive each separate leaf trembling in the gentle breeze : innumerable figures of naked Loves, with inexpressibly beautiful countenances, are hovering in the air, they are gathering branches of the laurel wherewith they weave garlands, which they then throw down and scatter on the mount, over which there does of a truth seem to be the spirit of the divinity breathing, such is the beauty of the figures, and the noble and elevated character of the whole picture, which awakens admiration and astonishment in all who behold it, when they consider that the human mind and mortal hand, with only the simple means of imperfect colours, and by the help of excellent drawing, has made a picture which appears as if it were alive. The figures of the Poets also, distributed over the mount, are all most truly animated. Some are standing, others seated, some are writing, or speaking, or singing, others are conversing together in groups of four or six, accordingly as it has seemed good to the master to arrange them. In this portion of the work there are portraits of the most renowned poets, ancient and modern, including among the latter several who had lived or were living at Raphael's own time :

some of the older poets were taken from statues, some from medals, many from old pictures ; and others, who had lived in his own day, were taken from nature by Raphael himself. To begin with the one end, we have here the portraits of Ovid, Virgil, Ennius, Tibullus, Catullus, Propertius, and Homer : the last named, blind and with the head elevated, is pouring forth his verses, while there is a youth seated at his feet who writes them as he sings. There is also in one group Apollo¹ with the Nine Muses ; and in all these figures there is so much beauty, their countenances have an air of so much divinity, that grace and life seem to breathe from every feature. There is here portrayed the learned Sappho, and the most divine Dante ; the graceful Petrarch, and the gay Boccaccio, who are all most truly animated and life-like. Tebaldero² is also here, with many other modern writers, who are grouped with infinite grace and painted with extraordinary care.

On one of the other sides the master has depicted Heaven, with Christ and the Virgin, San Giovanni Battista, the Apostles, the Evangelists, and the Martyrs, all enthroned amid the clouds ; and above them is the figure of God the Father, who sends forth his Holy Spirit over them all, but more particularly on a vast company of Saints, who are celebrating the mass below, and some of whom are in disputation respecting the Host, which is on the altar.³ Among

¹ The viol which Raphael has placed in the hands of Apollo would, beyond all doubt, be well replaced by the lyre, but the painter is believed to have given the God the first-named instrument, in honour of the then admired improvisatore and violinist, Giacomo Sansecolo, who had inspired Raphael himself with so great an admiration for the viol, that he considered it worthy to be placed in the hands of the God of Song. For a detailed explanation of the figures in this work, see Passavant, *ut supra*.

² This figure is frequently called Sannazzaro, but not on very good grounds.—*Schorn*.

³ Theology is here symbolized, but the picture is most commonly called the "Dispute concerning the Sacrament." It is said to be the first work performed by Raphael in the Vatican, or indeed in Rome.



LA VIERGE
DE LA MAISON D'ALBE

THE MADONNA DELLA CASA D' ALBA.

IN THE HERMITAGE, ST. PETERSBURGH.

these are the four Doctors of the Church, who are surrounded by numerous saints, San Domenico namely, with San Francesco, St. Thomas Aquinas, SS. Bonaventura, Scotus, and Nicolaus of Lyra; Dante,¹ Fra Girolamo Savonarola of Ferrara, and all the Christian theologians are also depicted, with a vast number of portraits from the life. In the air above are four Children, who are holding open the four Gospels; these are figures which it would not be possible for any painter to surpass, such is their grace and perfection. The Saints are seated in a circle in the air, and not only does the beauty of the colouring give them all the appearance of life, but the foreshortenings, and the gradual receding of the figures, are so judiciously managed, that they could not appear otherwise if they were in relief; the draperies and vestments are richly varied, and the folds are of infinite grace, the expression of the countenances moreover is celestial rather than merely human. This is more particularly to be remarked in that of the Saviour, which exhibits all the mildness and clemency of the divine nature that could possibly be presented to the human eyes by a mere painting. Raphael was indeed largely endowed with the power of imparting the most exquisite expression to his faces, and the most graceful character to the heads of his pictures: of this we have an instance in the Virgin, who with her hands crossed on her bosom, is regarding her divine Son, whom she contemplates with an expression which implies her perfect assurance that he will not refuse forgiveness. There is, moreover, a certain dignity in the figures of this master with a characteristic propriety, which is without doubt most beautiful; to the holy Patriarchs he gives the reverence of age,

¹ "It is not without good reason," observes an Italian commentator, "that Raphael has placed Dante among the theologians as well as poets; and therein he may have followed the advice of Ariosto, whom he is known to have consulted in respect to the personages to be placed in his works."

to the Apostles the earnest simplicity which is proper to their character, and the faces of his Martyrs are radiant with the faith that is in them.¹ But still more richly varied are the resources of art and genius which this master has displayed in the holy Doctors, who are engaged in disputation, and are distributed over the picture in groups of six, four, or two. Their features give token of a certain eager curiosity, but also of the earnest desire they feel to discover the precise truth of the matter in question: this is made further manifest by the action of the hands and by various movements of the person, they bend the ear with fixed attention, they knit the brow in thought, and offer evidence, in their looks, of surprise, or other emotions, as the contending propositions are presented; each in his own peculiar manner, but all with most appropriate as well as beautiful and varied expression. Distinguished from the rest are the four Doctors of the Church, who, being illuminated by the Holy Spirit, resolve and explain, by the aid of the Holy Scriptures, all the difficulties presented by the gospels, which the boys who are hovering in the air hold before them.

On the third side of the apartment, that namely wherein is the other window which looks upon the court, Raphael painted, on the one part, Justinian, who is giving the laws to the Doctors² for revisal, with figures of Temperance, Fortitude, and Prudence above; on the other, the Pope³ who delivers the Decretals or canon laws;

¹ Quatremère de Quincy remarks on these heads, that they are indeed full of truth, but of the truth of portraiture, as was to be expected from the prevalence of ideas proper to the Florentine school, which then influenced the manner of Raphael: in succeeding works, a character of beauty which is more ideal will be found to prevail. See Passavant also, who agrees with De Quincy in the opinions here expressed.

² To Trebonianus namely, who is accompanied by six other Doctors in the Law.
—*Schorn.*

³ Pope Gregory IX.



THE MADONNA, ALDOBRANDINI.

IN THE NATIONAL GALLERY.

and in this pontiff Raphael has depicted the portrait of Pope Julius II; he has likewise executed portraits from the life of Cardinal-vicar, Giovanni de' Medici, who was afterwards Pope Leo X, of Cardinal Antonio de' Monte, and the Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, who ultimately became Pope Paul III, with those of many other personages.¹

The pope was highly satisfied with all that was done; and to the end that the wood-work of the apartment should be worthy of the paintings, he caused Fra Giovanni of Verona to be summoned from the convent of Monte Oliveto di Chiusuri, a monastery in the territory of Siena; Fra Giovanni was a renowned master in works representing perspective views of buildings, formed of woods inlaid; and he not only prepared the wainscot around the room, but also made very beautiful doors and seats, richly decorated in the perspective ornaments for which he was famed, and which acquired for him very great honour, with much favour from the Pope, who rewarded him very liberally.

It is indeed certain that in works of this kind there has never been a more able master than Fra Giovanni, a fact to which we have testimony still in his native city of Verona; this is presented by the Sacristy of Santa Maria-in-Organo, which is most beautifully adorned with inlaid work representing views in perspective.² The choir of Monte Oliveto di Chiusuri affords another proof of his skill, as does that of San Benedetto di Siena: the Sacristy of Monte Oliveto di Napoli was in like manner adorned by Fra Giovanni, and in the same place is the Chapel of Paolo da Tolosa, which that master also

¹ See Passavant, vol. ii. p. 109.

² Fra Giovanni was an architect also. The Campanile of the above-mentioned church of Santa Maria-in-Organo was built after his design.—*Masselli*.

decorated in wood-work.¹ By all these labours he obtained much honour from those of his order, by whom he was ever held in the highest estimation until his death, which took place in 1537, when he had attained the age of sixty-eight. Now of this master, as of a person who was truly excellent and remarkable in his art, I have thought it well to make mention thus far, for it appears to me that his talent has well merited so much, seeing that we are indebted to it for the fine works that were afterwards executed by many other masters, to whom Fra Giovanni laid open the way.

But to return to Raphael. His powers now became developed to the utmost, and he received a commission from the Pope to paint a second room in the Vatican ; that towards the great hall namely. At this time, also, our artist, who had now acquired a very great name, depicted the portrait of Pope Julius himself. This is an oil painting, of so much animation and so true to the life, that the picture impresses on all beholders a sense of awe as if it were indeed the living object ; this portrait is now preserved in the church of Santa Maria del Popolo,² together with a very beautiful Madonna, executed at the same time by the same master. In the last named picture, which represents the Nativity of Christ, the Virgin is covering with a veil her divine Child ;³ the expression of whose countenance is of such

¹ These decorations in wood-work are said to have been destroyed in 1527, when Rome was plundered, as our readers will remember ; an event which took place in the pontificate of Clement VII.

² Now in Florence in the Pitti Palace, where there is also a copy of the same work. There is a *replica*, or duplicate, in the Tribune of the Uffizj, in the same city. That in our National Gallery needs no mention here. For the many duplicates and other copies, see Passavant, as before cited.

³ Longhena mentions various pictures of the Virgin throwing a veil over or removing it from the divine Child, but of this, which comprises the figure of St. Joseph, we do not find it possible to obtain any information that is entirely satisfactory. The

wonderful beauty, and his whole person so clearly demonstrates the divinity of his origin, that all must perceive him to be truly the Son of God. Nor are the attitude and countenance of the Madonna less beautiful, they exhibit the perfection of grace with an expression of mingled piety and gladness. There is also a St. Joseph standing with both his hands supported on a staff, and contemplating the King and Queen of Heaven, with the adoration of a most righteous old man. Both these pictures are exhibited to the people on all occasions of solemn festival.

Raphael had at this time acquired much fame in Rome, but although he had the graceful manner which was held by every one to be most beautiful, and saw continually before his eyes the numerous antiquities to be found in that city, and which he studied continually, he had, nevertheless, not yet given to his figures that grandeur and majesty which he always did impart to them from that time forward. For it happened at the period to which we now refer, that Michael Angelo had made such clamours in the Sistine Chapel, and given the Pope such alarms, that he was compelled to take flight and sought refuge in Florence. Whereupon Bramante, having the key of the chapel, and being the friend of Raphael, permitted him to see it, to the end that he might understand Michael Angelo's modes of proceeding.¹ The sight thus afforded to

most probable conjecture is that it was the one called the "Madonna di Loretto," and which has now disappeared. See Landon, *Œuvres de Raphael*. See also Passavant, as above cited, vol. ii. p. 126.

¹ "That Raphael should secretly visit the works of Michael Angelo by the means here described," observes an Italian writer, "is very unlikely, but the fact that there were many who would not have scrupled to do so, may have suggested the suspicion to Michael Angelo and his followers." It is, besides, well known that the Sistine Chapel

him caused Raphael instantly to paint anew the figure of the prophet Isaiah, which he had executed in the Church of Sant' Agostino, above the Sant' Anna of Andrea Sansovino, although he had entirely finished it; and in this work he profited to so great an extent by what he had seen in the works of Michael Angelo, that his manner was thereby inexpressibly ameliorated and enlarged, receiving thenceforth an obvious increase of majesty.

But when Michael Angelo afterwards saw the work of Raphael, he thought, as was the truth, that Bramante had committed the wrong to himself of which we have here spoken, for the purpose of serving Raphael, and enhancing the glory of that master's name.¹

No long time after this, Agostino Chisi, a very rich merchant of Siena, who was a great admirer of all distinguished men, gave Raphael a commission to paint a chapel. This he did because, some short time previously, the master had produced a fresco of the most exquisite beauty, in a Loggia of his palace, in the Trastevere, now called the Chisi;² the subject of this is Galatea³ in a car on the sea drawn by two dolphins and surrounded by Tritons and different marine deities.⁴ Having made the cartoon for the above named

was thrown open to the public about the time when this secret visit is said to have taken place.

¹ It is now the general opinion among good judges, that the manner of Raphael was rather injured than ameliorated by whatever influence he may have permitted the works of Michael Angelo to exercise over it. The Isaiah, which is one of his feeblest works, was completed in 1512. It suffered considerable injury from an ignorant pretender, who affected to clean it, in the reign of Paul IV, and was afterwards retouched by Daniel of Volterra, who very probably rendered it still more feeble.

² The Chigi Palace is now the Farnesina.

³ The Galatea was painted in 1514.

⁴ The following passage will be found in a letter on the subject of ideal beauty in works of art, from Raphael to Baldassare Castiglione:—"With respect to the Galatea,



THE MADONNA WITH THE DIADEM.

IN THE LOUVRE.

chapel, which is at the entrance of the Church of Santa Maria della Pace, on the right as one enters by the principal door, the master executed it in fresco, in his new manner, which was somewhat grander and more majestic than the earlier one. In this picture Raphael painted some of the Prophets and Sybils, before Michael Angelo had thrown open the chapel, which he had nevertheless seen, as has been related ;¹ and of a truth, these figures are considered to be the best, and among so many beautiful the most beautiful, seeing that in the women and children represented, there is the very perfection of truth and animation ; the colouring, moreover, is faultless.² This work caused the master to be most highly extolled, both during his life and after his death, being, as it was, the most remarkable and most excellent one that Raphael ever executed. Raphael being earnestly entreated by a chamberlain of Pope Julius II.³ to paint the picture for the high altar of the chapel of the Ara Cœli, he therein depicted

I should hold myself to be a great master, if there were in it one half of the merits of which you write, but in your words I cannot fail to perceive the partiality of your friendship for myself. To paint a figure truly beautiful, it might be necessary that I should see many beautiful forms, with the further provision that you should yourself be near, to select the best ; but seeing that good judges and beautiful women are scarce, I avail myself of certain ideas which come into my mind. Whether I have in myself any portion of the excellence of art, I know not, but I labour heartily to secure it."

¹ In the life of Michael Angelo, Vasari himself asserts that the Prophets and Sybils were painted by Raphael *after* the Sistine Chapel had been publicly opened. Quatremère de Quincy remarks of Raphael, that "so far from having imitated Michael Angelo in these figures, it might be supposed that he had in fact designed to make manifest in his own production, what it is that the work of Buonarotti wants to be perfect."

² These admirable paintings of the Church called Della Pace having suffered much from time, were carefully restored some years since by Palmaroli.—*Masselli and Passavant.*

³ Sigismondo Conti of Fuligno, private secretary to Pope Julius, and a learned historian.

the Madonna, reposing on the clouds of heaven, and with San Giovanni, San Francesco, and San Girolamo,¹ robed in the vestments of a cardinal, in a beautiful landscape beneath. In this virgin there is the expression of a modesty and humility truly worthy of the Mother of Christ: the divine Child, in an attitude of exquisite beauty, is playing with the mantle of Our Lady; the form of San Giovanni gives clear proof of the fasting to which his penitential discipline has subjected him, while in the expression of his countenance, one reads the sincerity of his soul, together with a frank and cheerful serenity, proper to those who, far removed from the influence of the world, look down on it with contempt, and in their commerce with mankind, abhorring all duplicity, devote themselves to the promulgation of truth. The head of San Girolamo is raised, his eyes are fixed on the Virgin, whom he is regarding earnestly. And in the eyes thus raised there are to be perceived all that learning and wisdom which are made manifest in his writings.² With a movement of both the hands he is in the act of recommending the chamberlain to the protection of Our Lady; and the figure of that chamberlain in actual life is scarcely more animated than the one here painted. Nor is there less of truth and nature in the San Francesco; he is kneeling on the earth, with one arm extended, and the head raised as he turns his gaze aloft, towards the Madonna; he is depicted with a glow of pious affection in his countenance, every line of which is beaming with the holiest emotion. The features and complexion show that the saint is consuming away in pious resignation, but is receiving

¹ St. Jerome.

² Conti is said to have commanded this picture to be presented to the Virgin, in gratitude for her interposition between himself and a flash of lightning, or, as other accounts have it, a shell, which had fallen near his house at the siege of Fuligno. In allusion to this circumstance, a fiery ball is seen passing over the landscape.



THE MADONNA DI FULIGNO.

IN THE VATICAN, ROME.



comfort and life from the most gentle and beautiful looks of the Mother, as well as from the sovereign loveliness of the divine Child.¹ In the centre of the picture and immediately beneath the Virgin, is a boy; his head is raised towards our Lady, and he bears a tablet in his hands. It is not possible to imagine any thing more graceful or more beautiful than this child, whether as regards the head or the rest of the person. There is besides a landscape of singular beauty, and which is executed to the highest perfection in every part.

Raphael then continued his work in the chambers of the Vatican, where he depicted the Miracle of the Sacrament, or the Corporas of Bolsena, whichever it may be called. In this story, the Priest who is reading the Mass is seen to have his face glowing with the shame which he felt, when, in consequence of his own unbelief, he beheld the Host bleeding on the Corporas, as a reproof for his want of faith; terrified at the looks of his hearers, he has lost all self-possession, and is as a man beside himself; he has the aspect of one utterly confounded, the dismay that has seized him is manifest in his attitude, and the spectator almost perceives the trembling of his hands; so well are the emotions inevitable from such a circumstance expressed in the work.² Around the priest are many figures of varied character; some are serving the Mass, others kneel, in beautiful attitudes, on a flight of steps, and moved by the novelty of the occurrence, exhibit

¹ This picture is called the Madonna of Fuligno, having been removed from the Church of the Ara Cœli, to that city, at the request of a niece of Conti's, who was a nun at the Convent of Sant' Anna, called *Le Contesse*. The work here in question was among those taken to Paris, where it was transferred from panel to canvas: it is now in the Vatican.

² This miracle is said to have taken place in the year 1264, and under the pontificate of Urban IV, who instituted the festival of the Corpus Domini in consequence thereof. — *Bottari*. The festival so called was nevertheless not universally celebrated until fifty years later. — *Ed. Flor.* 1832-8.

their astonishment and emotion in divers gestures, some giving evidence of a desire to acknowledge themselves guilty of error, and this is perceived in men as well as in women. Among the latter is one at the lower part of the picture, seated on the earth and holding a child in her arms; she is listening while another relates the circumstance that has just happened to the priest; full of wonder she turns towards the speaker with a feminine grace and animation that is truly characteristic and life-like.¹ On the other side is the Pope, Julius II, who is hearing the Mass, an admirable part of the work, and here Raphael has depicted the portrait of the Cardinal di San Giorgio,² with a vast number of other personages, also from the life. The break caused by the window was turned to account by the master, who having there represented an ascent in the form of a flight of stairs, thus makes the paintings on each side into one sole picture, nay, he has even made it appear that if this opening caused by the window had not been there, the scene could not have been so well arranged. It may indeed with truth be said of Raphael here, as elsewhere, that as respects invention and the graces of composition, whatever the story may be, no artist has ever shown more skill, more readiness of resource, or a more admirable judgment than himself; a fact of which he has given further proof in this same place, where in the opposite picture he has represented San Pietro thrown into a prison by Herod,³ and guarded by soldiers. The architectural details here depicted and the simple delineation of the prison, are treated with so much ingenuity that the works of other artists, when compared with those of Raphael, seem to exhibit as much of confusion as do that master's of grace and beauty.

¹ The Miracle of Bolsena was painted in 1512.—*Ed. Flor.* 1832-8.

² Raffaello Riario, who made himself conspicuous by his hatred to the House of Medici, against which he twice organized a conspiracy.—*Schorn.*

³ Called "La Scarcerazione di San Pietro."—*Note to the German Edition of Vasari.*

Raphael constantly endeavoured to represent the circumstances which he depicted as they are described or written, and to assemble only the most appropriate and characteristic objects in his works, as for example in the picture before us, where he reveals to us the wretchedness of the prison. Bound with chains, that aged man is seen extended between two soldiers; the deep and heavy sleep of the guards is rendered fully manifest, as the resplendent light proceeding from the Angel illumines the darkness of night, and causes the most minute particulars of the prison to be clearly discerned; the arms of the sleepers shine so brilliantly, that their burnished lustre seems rather to belong to things real and palpable, than to the merely painted surface of a picture.

No less remarkable are the art and ingenuity displayed in another part of the same picture; that namely where, freed from his chains, the Apostle walks forth from his prison, accompanied by the Angel. In the countenance of St. Peter there is evidence that he is a man who feels himself to be acting in a dream, and not as one awake. Equally well expressed are the terror and dismay of those among the guards, who, being outside the prison, hear the clang of the iron door; a sentinel with a torch in his hand, awakens his sleeping companions; the light he holds is reflected from their armour, and all that lies within the place which the torch has not reached is lighted by the Moon. This admirably conceived picture Raphael has placed over the window, at the darkest part of the room; it thus happens that when the spectator regards the painting, the light of day strikes on his eyes and the beams of the natural light mingle and contend with the different lights of the night as seen in the picture, the observer fancies himself really to behold the smoke of the torch, and the splendour of the Angel, all which, with the dark shadows of the night, are so natural and so true, that no one would ever affirm it to

be painted, but must believe it to be real, so powerfully has our artist rendered this most difficult subject.¹ The play of the shadows on the arms, the flickering reflections of the light, the vaporous haloes thrown around the torches, the dim uncertain shade prevailing in certain parts ; all are painted in such a manner, that contemplating this work one cannot but declare Raphael to be indeed the master of all masters. Never has painting which purports to counterfeit the night been more truly similar to the reality than is this, which is of a truth a most divine work, and is indeed admitted by common consent to be the most extraordinary and most beautiful of its kind.

On one of the unbroken walls of the chamber, Raphael then depicted the worship of God as practised among the Hebrews, with the Ark and golden Candlesticks ; here also is the figure of Pope Julius, who is driving the avaricious intruders from the Temple.² In this work, which is of similar beauty and excellence to the night-piece described above, several portraits of persons then living are preserved to us in the persons of the bearers³ who support the chair wherein Pope Julius is borne along ; the figure of the Pontiff is most life-like. While the populace, among whom are many women, make way for

¹ This is one of the earliest night-pieces painted by the Italian artists, and its masterly treatment has secured the author the lasting admiration of the world. It was the first painted after the accession of Leo X, and doubtless refers to his remarkable liberation from the French after the battle of Ravenna. It was finished in 1514. See Passavant, vol. i. p. 198, vol. ii. p. 160.

² On this picture, which represents the miraculous expulsion of Heliodorus from the Temple, Giulio Romano is said to have worked to a considerable extent. It was completed in 1512, consequently before that previously so much extolled by Vasari.—*Ed. Flor.* 1832-8.

³ The foremost of these bearers is the portrait of the copper-plate engraver, Marc Antonio Raimondi : his opposite companion is said to be that of Giulio Romano. Behind the Pope, stands the Secretary of Memorials, who holds a paper in his hand, with the inscription, *Io Petro de Falcariis Cremonens.*—Bottari. See also Passavant, vol. i. 194, vol. ii. 156.

his Holiness to pass, they give to view the furious approach of an armed man on horseback ; he is accompanied by two others who are on foot, and together they smite and overthrow the haughty Heliodorus, who, by the command of Antiochus, is about to despoil the Temple of all the treasures deposited for the widows and orphans.¹ The wares and treasures are already in process of being borne away, but the terror awakened by the new occurrence of Heliodorus, struck down and scourged by the three figures above-mentioned, who are seen and heard by himself alone, being only a vision, causes those who are bearing the spoils away to let all drop from their hands, while they themselves fall stumbling over each other, possessed as they are by a sudden affright and horror which had fallen on all the followers of Heliodorus. Apart from these stands the High Priest, Onias, in his pontifical robes, his hands and eyes are raised to heaven, and he is praying most fervently, being moved to compassion for the poor, whom he has beheld on the point of being despoiled of their possessions, but is yet rejoiced at the succour which he feels that Heaven has sent to them. With felicitous invention Raphael has placed various figures about the different parts of the building, some of whom climb on the socles of the columns, and clasping the shaft, thus stand, maintaining themselves with difficulty in their inconvenient position, to obtain a better view of the scene passing before them ; the mass of the people meanwhile, astounded at what they behold, remain in divers attitudes awaiting the result of the wondrous event.

The whole of this work was so admirably executed in every part that even the Cartoons were very highly estimated. Messer Francesco Masini,² a gentleman of Cesena, who, without any master, but

¹ See the second book of Maccabees, chap. iii.

² The Roman Edition has *Massini*, as the Cremonese family still write the name. The fragments here alluded to are still in their possession.

impelled from childhood by the love of art, has produced many paintings and works in design, has certain pieces of the Cartoon which Raphael prepared for this story of Heliodorus still in his possession ; they are treasured, with all the esteem which they so truly merit, among the various antiquities in marble, rilievo and others, which he has collected ; his own pictures and designs are also of such merit, that many, well acquainted with art, have bestowed on them the highest commendations. Nor will I omit to mention that Messer Niccolò Massini, from whom it is that I have received intelligence of these things, is himself a sincere lover of our arts, as he is the friend of all other good and praiseworthy endeavours.

But to return to Raphael. In the ceiling above these works he delineated four pictures : the subject of the first being the appearance of the Almighty Father to Abraham, to whom he promises the continuation of his race ; that of the second, the sacrifice of Isaac ; and of the third, Jacob's dream ; while the fourth represents Moses standing before the burning bush. In this work, the knowledge of art, rich power of invention, correct design, and exquisite grace which distinguish our artist, are no less manifest than in the others whereof we have made mention.

And now, when the happy genius of the master was effecting such wonders, the envy of fortune deprived of life that pontiff who was the especial protector and support of such talent, while he was the zealous promoter of every other good and useful work. Julius II. died,¹ but was succeeded by Leo X, who forthwith commanded that the labours commenced should be continued. The genius of Raphael was now exalted to heaven, and he received innumerable proofs of favour from the new pontiff, fortunate in having encountered a prince so

¹ On the 13th February, 1513.

great, and one on whom the love of art had devolved by hereditary descent.¹

Thus encouraged, Raphael devoted himself with all his heart to the work, and on another wall of the same apartment, he represented the Approach of Attila towards Rome, and his encounter with Pope Leo III, by whom he is met at the foot of Monte Mario, and who repulses him by the power of his word alone. In this picture, Raphael has shown San Pietro and San Paolo appearing in the air with swords in their hands, with which they come to defend the church. It is true that the History of Leo III. says nothing of such an occurrence, but so Raphael has chosen to represent it, perhaps as a mere fancy ; for we know that painters and poets frequently permit themselves a certain degree of freedom for the more effectual decoration of their works, and this they may do without any undue departure from the propriety of the original thought. In the two apostles thus depicted, there is all that holy zeal and dignity which the Divine Justice frequently imparts to the countenances of those among God's servants, whom it has commissioned to become the defenders of the most holy faith. The effect of this expression on Attila is manifest in his face. He is riding on a fiery black horse, having a star on the forehead, and beautiful as it is possible that a horse could be ; the attitude of the animal also betrays the utmost terror, its head is thrown aloft, and the body is turning in the act of flight.²

¹ For the services to art performed by Julius II, and Leo X, and for the connection of Raphael with both these Pontiffs, see Passavant, as above cited, vol. i. p. 205, *et seq.*

² The numerous errors into which Vasari has here fallen, are in part attributable to the Florentine historian, Villani, (see lib. ii. cap. 3). The meeting with Attila took place on the river Mincio, near Mantua, and the Pontiff was not Leo III. but Leo the Great, the first of the name.

There are other magnificent horses in the same work, among them a Spanish jennet, ridden by a figure which has all the parts usually left nude covered with scales in the manner of a fish; this is copied from the column of Trajan, the figures of the people around that column being armed in this fashion; such defences being made, as is conjectured, from the skins of crocodiles. Monte Mario is seen burning, as an intimation that on the departure of soldiery, the dwellings are constantly given as a prey to the flames. Certain mace-bearers belonging to the papal retinue are painted with extraordinary animation, as are the horses which they are riding; the same may be said of the court of Cardinals, and of the grooms who bear the canopy over the head of the pontiff.¹ The latter, Pope Leo X, is on horseback, in full pontificals, and is no less truthfully portrayed than are the figures beforementioned. He is followed by numerous courtiers, the whole scene presenting an extremely beautiful spectacle, in which all is finely appropriate to its place, and these details are exceedingly useful to those who practise our art, more particularly to such as are unprovided with the objects here represented.

About the same time a picture was executed by Raphael for Naples, and this was placed in the church of San Domenico, and in that chapel wherein is the crucifix which spoke to St. Thomas Aquinas. In this work, Raphael depicted Our Lady, San Girolamo, clothed in the vestments of a cardinal, and the angel Raphael, who is serving as the guide of the youthful Tobit.² For Leonello da Carpi,

¹ The choice of subject in this picture is sometimes said to have been intended as an allusion to the expulsion of the French from Italy, and the figure of Attila has been called a portrait of Louis XII, King of France, but these assertions do not appear to be well-founded. See Passavant.

² This is the picture known as the *Madonna del Pesce* (of the Fish), and is now in the Escorial. The Chapel in which it was originally placed was one much resorted to



THE MADONNA DEL PESCE.

IN THE ESCURIAL, MADRID.

Lord of Meldola, who is still living, and has attained the age of more than ninety years, he painted a picture, the colouring of which is most admirable, and the beauty of the whole work very remarkable; it is indeed executed with so much force, and in a manner so exquisitely graceful withal, that I do not think the art could possibly produce or exhibit a finer work. There is a divinity in the countenance of Our Lady, and a modest humility in her attitude, than which it would not be possible to conceive anything more beautiful. The master has depicted her with folded hands, in adoration of the divine Child, who is seated on her lap, and is caressing a little St. John; the latter is also adoring the Redeemer: the figures of St. Joseph and St. Elizabeth complete the group. This picture was formerly in the possession of the most reverend Cardinal di Carpi,¹ son of the above-named Signor Leonello, a very zealous admirer of our arts; it must now be in that of his heirs.²

When Lorenzo Pucci, Cardinal of Santi Quattro, was created High Penitentiary, he caused Raphael, who was in great favour with him, to paint a picture for San Giovanni-in-Monte, at Bologna. This is now placed in that chapel wherein are deposited the relics of

by persons afflicted with diseases of the eyes; Tobit, with his fish, is therefore highly appropriate. St. Jerome, who holds a book in his hand, is also much in his place on this occasion, as being the translator of the book of Tobit. This is one of the works taken to Paris, where it was transferred from the panel to canvas; it is entirely by Raphael himself, and is considered to be one of his best works.

¹ The Cardinal Ridolfo Pio da Carpi, a great protector of learned men, and the possessor of the celebrated Medicean Virgil. He died in 1564.—*Bottari*.

² Passavant considers this picture to be that in the Museo Borbonico, at Naples, but equally important authorities declare the Madonna of the Borbonico to be a fine copy, by Giulio Romano, or at best, but a *replica* of the original, which they affirm to have been taken to Paris, whence, after having adorned the gallery at Malmaison, it was transferred to St. Petersburg.

the Beata Elena dall' Olio,¹ and serves to show what grace united with art could effect, when acting by the most accomplished and most delicate hands of Raphael. The subject of the work is Santa Cecilia,² listening in ecstasy to the songs of the angelic choir, as their voices reach her ear from heaven itself: wholly given up to the celestial harmony, the countenance of the saint affords full evidence of her abstraction from the things of this earth, and wears that rapt expression which is wont to be seen on the faces of those who are in ecstasy.³ Musical instruments lie scattered around her, and these do not seem to be merely painted, but might be taken for the real objects represented.⁴ The same thing may be affirmed of the veil and vestments, formed of cloth of gold and silver, with which Santa Cecilia is clothed, and beneath which is a garment of hair-cloth, also most admirably painted. In the figure of St. Paul likewise, the power and thought of the master are equally obvious: the saint is resting his right arm on his naked sword, the head is supported by the left hand, and the pride of his aspect has changed to a dignified gravity; the vestments of St. Paul consist of a simple cloth mantle,

¹ Elena Duglioli dall' Olio, who was inspired to build the chapel to St. Cecilia, which is that here alluded to, was a noble lady of Bologna, and kinswoman to the Cardinal of Santi Quattro, who undertook to erect the same. Elena was afterwards declared a Beata.

² This picture is the celebrated St. Cecilia, now in the gallery of the Academy at Bologna.

³ The visitor of Italian galleries and churches will remember many an eloquent exposition of what is here meant, in the picture of Santa Theresa, St. Francis, and others. To the Protestant Church the exhibition of "Saints in ecstasy" is not yet become matter of frequent occurrence, nor is there now perhaps any very high probability of its doing so.

⁴ These instruments are said to have been painted by Giovanni da Udine, as is remarked by Vasari himself in another place.—*Ed. Flor.* 1832-8.



THE MADONNA DELLA SEDIA.

IN THE PITTI PALACE, FLORENCE.

the colour of which is red, with a green tunic beneath, after the manner of the apostles; his feet are bare. St. Mary Magdalen also forms part of the group, and holds a vase, made of a very fine marble, in her hand. The attitude of this figure is singularly graceful, as is the turn of her head; she seems to rejoice in her conversion, and I do not think it would be possible that any work of the kind could be more perfectly executed. The heads of St. Augustine and of St. John the Evangelist, which are both in this picture, are of equal excellence. It may indeed with truth be declared that the paintings of other masters are properly to be called paintings, but those of Raphael may well be designated the life itself, for the flesh trembles, the breathing is made obvious to sight, the pulses in his figures are beating, and life is in its utmost animation through all his works.

This picture secured the author many commendations and a great increase of fame, insomuch that numerous verses, both in Latin and the vulgar tongue, were composed to his honour; of these I will but insert the following, that I may not make a longer story than is needful:—

*“ Pingant sola alii, referantque coloribus ora;
Cæcilæ os Raphael atque animum explicuit.”*

At a later period our artist painted a small picture, which is now at Bologna, in the possession of the Count Vicenzio Ercolani. The subject of this work is Christ¹ enthroned amid the clouds, after the manner in which Jupiter is so frequently depicted, but the Saviour is surrounded by the four Evangelists, as described in the book of

¹ Quâtemère de Quincy declares this figure to represent not Christ, but Ezekiel himself; this opinion has, however, not found advocates among such of the later writers as are considered the best authority.

Ezekiel. One in the form of a man, that is to say ; another in that of a lion ; the third as an eagle ; and the fourth as an ox. The earth beneath exhibits a small landscape, and this work, in its minuteness—all the figures being very small—is no less beautiful than are the others in their grandeur of extent.¹

To Verona, Raphael sent a large picture of no less excellence, for the Counts of Canossa. The subject is the Nativity of Our Lord, admirably treated : the day-break in particular, as here portrayed, has been highly commended, and the same may be said of the figure of Sant' Anna, and indeed of the whole work, which one could not extol more effectually than by the simple assertion, that it is by the hand of Raphael da Urbino. The Counts hold this picture in the highest estimation, as it well deserves, very great sums have been offered to them for it by different princes, but they have never been prevailed on to part with it.²

For Bindo Altoviti, Raphael executed a picture of himself when he (Bindo) was still young, and this work also has obtained, as it merits, the highest admiration.³ He also painted a picture of the Madonna for the same person, who despatched it to Florence : this is now preserved in the Palace of the Duke Cosimo : it has been placed in the Chapel of the new apartments, which have been built and painted by myself, where it serves as the Altar-piece : the subject is

¹ This picture was doubtless painted after the St. Cecilia, as Vasari affirms ; the assertion of Malvasia to the contrary is by no means well-founded, or adequately supported by evidence. The work is now in the Pitti Palace.

² This picture was for some time supposed to have disappeared, it was then believed by certain writers to have been discovered in the Palace of the Belvedere at Vienna, and is now generally affirmed to be in that city ; but “in the palace of the Prince of Thurm and Valdassina.”

³ The portrait of Bindo Altoviti is now in the Pinacoteca at Munich.

Sant' Anna,¹ a woman much advanced in years, who is seated with the infant Christ in her arms ; she is holding him out to the Virgin, and the beauty of his nude figure, with the exquisite loveliness of the countenance which the master has given to the divine Child, is such, that his smile rejoices the heart of all who behold him. To Our Lady also, Raphael has imparted all the beauty which can be imagined in the expression of a virgin ; in the eyes there is modesty, on the brow there shines honour, the nose is one of very graceful character, and the mouth betokens sweetness and excellence. In the vestments also, there is an indescribable simplicity with an attractive modesty, which I do not think could possibly be surpassed ; there cannot, indeed, be anything better of its kind than is this whole work : there is a beautiful figure of the little San Giovanni undraped, in this picture, with that of another saint, a female, which is likewise very beautiful.² The background represents a dwelling, in which there is a window partially shaded, through which light is given to the chamber wherein the figures are seated.

In Rome, Raphael likewise painted a figure of good size, in which he represented Pope Leo, the Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, and the Cardinal de' Rossi. The figures in this work seem rather to be in full relief, and living, than merely feigned, and on a plane surface. The velvet softness of the skin is rendered with the utmost fidelity ; the vestments in which the Pope is clothed are also faithfully depicted,

¹ This is not St. Anna, but St. Elizabeth, whose countenance, Richardson, *Account of Paintings, Statues, &c.*, declares to be very like that of a Sybil painted by Raphael in the Chiesa della Pace, (Church of Peace).

² This picture, called the *Madonna dell' Impannata*, is now in the Pitti Palace. Longhena speaks of an engraving from it by the Spanish engraver, Emanuele Esquivel, and it has also been engraved by Cornelius Cort, and others.

the damask shines with a glossy lustre ; the furs which form the linings of his robes are soft and natural, while the gold and silk are copied in such a manner that they do not seem to be painted, but really appear to be silk and gold. There is also a book in parchment decorated with miniatures, a most vivid imitation of the object represented, with a silver bell, finely chased, of which it would not be possible adequately to describe the beauty. Among other accessories, there is, moreover, a ball of burnished gold on the seat of the Pope, and in this—such is its clearness—the divisions of the opposite window, the shoulders of the Pope, and the walls of the room, are faithfully reflected ; all these things are executed with so much care, that I fully believe no master ever has done, or ever can do anything better.¹ For this work, Raphael was richly rewarded by Pope Leo. It is now in Florence, in the Guardaroba of the Duke.² He also painted the portraits of the Duke Lorenzo and of the Duke Giuliano, whom he depicted with that perfection and that grace of colouring which is to be seen in no other than himself. These works belong to the heirs of Ottaviano de' Medici, and are now in Florence.³

The fame of Raphael continued to increase largely, as did the rewards conferred on him ; wherefore, desiring to leave a memorial of himself in Rome, he caused a palace to be erected in the Borgo Nuovo, which was decorated with stucco work by Bramante.⁴ The

¹ This picture, remarks Bottari, must have been painted between the years 1517 and 1519, since the Cardinal de' Rossi received the purple in the first-mentioned year, and died in the last.—*Roman Edition*, 1759.

² Now in the Pitti Palace. Of the fine copy made from this work by Andrea del Sarto, some mention is made by our author in his life of Andrea.

³ Of these portraits nothing absolutely certain is now known. There is a copy of that of Giuliano in the Florentine Gallery, which was once believed to be by Vasari himself, but it is now attributed to Alessandro Allori.

⁴ Raphael's house was destroyed to make way for the Colonnade of St. Peter's.



THE MADONNA DELLA TENDA.

IN THE MUNICH MUSEUM.

renown of this most noble artist having been carried, by the fame of these and other works, into France and Flanders, Albert Dürer, a most admirable German painter, and the engraver of most beautiful copperplates, sent a tribute of respect to Raphael from his own works, a head, namely, which was his own portrait, executed on exceedingly fine linen, which permitted the picture to appear equally on both sides, the lights not produced by the use of whites, but transparent, and the whole painted in water colours. This work was much admired by Raphael, who sent a number of his own drawings to Albert Dürer,¹ by whom they were very highly estimated. The head sent by the German artist, Albert Dürer, to Raphael, was subsequently taken to Mantua, among the other possessions inherited from the last named master, by Giulio Romano.²

Raphael having been thus made acquainted with the mode of proceeding adopted in his engraving by Albert Dürer, was desirous of seeing his own works treated after that manner; he therefore caused Marco Antonio of Bologna, who was well practised in that branch of art, to prepare numerous studies from them; and in this Antonio succeeded so well, that Raphael commissioned him to engrave many of his earliest works, namely, the Slaughter of the Innocents, a Last Supper, the Neptune, and the Santa Cecilia, when she is being

See Ferrario, and Giacomo de' Rossi, *Palazzi di Roma*. See also Fea, *Notizie intorno a Raffaello Sanzio*.

¹ One of these, containing two undraped figures of men, is now in the collection of the Archduke Charles, at Vienna. The drawing is addressed to Albert Dürer by the hand of Raphael himself, who has also inscribed the date 1515.—*Ed. Flor.* 1832-8. The German commentator, Ludwig Schorn, adds, that the following inscription, written by Albert Dürer, is also to be found thereon. “1515, Rafael of Urbino, who is so highly esteemed by the Pope, has made this naked figure, and has sent it to Nuremberg to Albert Dürer, as a specimen of work from his hand.”

² This portrait is now believed to be lost.

boiled in oil.¹ Marco Antonio subsequently executed a number of engravings, which were afterwards given by Raphael to Il Baviera, his disciple, who was the guardian of a certain lady, to whom Raphael was attached till the day of his death, and of whom he painted a most beautiful portrait, which might be supposed alive. This is now at Florence, in the possession of the good and worthy Botti, a Florentine merchant of that city,² who is the friend and favourer of all distinguished men, but more especially of painters; by him the work is treasured as if it were a relic, for the love which he bears to the art, but more especially to Raphael. Nor less friendly to artists than himself is his brother Simon Botti, who, to say nothing of the fact, that he is held by us all to be one of the most friendly among those who benefit our arts, is to myself in particular, the best and truest friend that ever the long experience of many years made dear to man: he has besides given proof of very good judgment in all things relating to our own art.

But to return to the copperplate engravings. The favour which Raphael had shown to Il Baviera was afterwards the cause which induced Marco of Ravenna, and many others, to labour in that branch of the art; insomuch, that what was formerly the great dearth of engravings on copper, became eventually that large supply of them which we now find. Hugo da Carpi, moreover, whose fine powers of invention were turned to the discovery of many ingenious and fanciful devices, found out that of carving in wood, in which, by

¹ This is not St. Cecilia boiled in oil, but the martyrdom of Santa Felicitas and her sons.—*Bottari*. For the legend of this saint, the reader is referred to Mrs. Jameson, *Sacred and Legendary Art*, vol. ii. p. 266, *et seq.* See also Richa, *Chiese Fiorentine*, vol. ix.

² Still in Florence, in the Tribune of the Uffizj, according to Masselli, but according to Schorn it has been removed to the Pitti Palace.

means of three blocks, the light, shadow, and middle tint can equally be given, and drawings in chiaro-scuro imitated exactly. Without doubt a very beautiful and fanciful invention,¹ which has since been largely extended.

For the Monks of Monte Oliveto, Raphael executed a picture of Christ Bearing his Cross, to be placed in their Monastery at Palermo, called Santa Mario dello Spasmo; this is considered to be a most admirable work, and is remarkable, among other characteristics, for the force with which the master has rendered the cruelty of the executioners, who are dragging the Redeemer to his death on Mount Calvary, with all the evidences of a furious rage. The Saviour himself, grievously oppressed by the torment of the death towards which he is approaching, and borne down by the weight of the Cross, has fallen to the earth faint with heat and covered with blood; he turns towards the Maries who are weeping bitterly. Santa Veronica is also among those who surround him, and, full of compassion, she extends her arms towards the Sufferer, to whom she presents a handkerchief with an expression of the deepest sympathy. There are besides vast numbers of armed men on horseback and on foot, who are seen pouring forth from the Gate of Jerusalem, bearing the ensigns of justice in their hands, and all in attitudes of great and varied beauty.

This picture was entirely finished, but had not yet been fixed in its place, when it was in great danger and on the point of coming to an unhappy end. The matter was on this wise: The painting, according to what I have heard related, was shipped to be taken to Palermo, but a frightful tempest arose which drove the vessel on a

¹ It is now well known that Lucas Cranach, Hans Grün, and other German engravers, practised the art of wood-engraving long before the time of Hugo da Carpi.

rock, where it was beaten to pieces, men and merchandize being lost together, this picture alone excepted, which, secured in its packings, was carried by the sea into the Gulf of Genoa. Here it was picked up and borne to land, when, being seen to be so beautiful a thing, it was placed in due keeping, having maintained itself unhurt and without spot or blemish of any kind; for even the fury of the winds and the waves of the sea had had respect to the beauty of so noble a work. The fame of this event was bruited abroad, and the Monks, to whom the picture belonged, took measures to obtain its restoration: in this they eventually succeeded, though not without great difficulty and only by aid of the Pope, when they largely rewarded those who had effected its recovery from the waves.¹ Being then embarked anew, the picture was ultimately landed in Sicily; the Monks then deposited the work in the city of Palermo, where it has more reputation than the Mount of Vulcan itself.²

While Raphael was thus engaged with the works above described, which he could not decline doing, partly because commissioned to execute them by great and important personages, but partly, also, because a due regard for his interest would not permit him to refuse them,—while thus occupied, I say, he did not on that account neglect to continue the works which he had commenced in the Papal Halls and Chambers; on the contrary, he kept people constantly employed therein, and by them the work was continued from drawings made by his own hand, every part being minutely superintended by himself, and

¹ This much celebrated picture, called *Lo Spasimo di Sicilia*, was taken to Paris, where it was transferred from the panel to canvas; it is now in the Royal Gallery of Madrid. The figure of St. Veronica is not in the picture. Vasari described it from memory, and is in error on this point.

² Our author is here following the old poets, who make Mount Etna the abode of Vulcan and the site of his forge.



CHRIST BEARING HIS CROSS.

IN THE MADRID MUSEUM.

the more important portions of the whole executed by him, so far as was possible in a work of such magnitude. No long time elapsed, therefore, before he gave to view the apartment of the *Torre Borgia*, on every wall of which he had placed a painting—two over the windows namely, and two on the sides wherein there are no windows. In one of these pictures the master has depicted the Conflagration of the Borgo Vecchio of Rome, which could not be extinguished until Pope Leo IV. presented himself at the Loggia of the Palace, and extinguished it entirely by the power of his benediction. In this work is the representation of many perilous incidents; on one side are women bearing vases of water on their heads and in their hands wherewith to extinguish the flames; the hair and clothing of these figures are blown about by the fury of a tempestuous wind; others, who are attempting to throw water on the burning masses, are blinded by the smoke, and appear to be in a state of bewilderment. At another part of the picture is a group, resembling that described by Virgil, of Anchises borne out of danger by Æneas. An old man being sick, is exhausted by his infirmity and the heat of the fire, and is carried by a youth in whose form the determination and power to save are manifest, as is the effort made by every member to support the dead weight of the old man helplessly hanging in utter abandonment upon his back. He is followed by an old woman bare-foot and with loosened garments, who is rushing in haste from the fire—a naked child goes before them. From the top of a ruined building also is seen a woman naked and with dishevelled hair, who has an infant in her hands which she is about to throw down to one of her family; just escaped from the flames, the last-mentioned person stands in the road below raised on the points of his feet and stretching forth his arms to receive the child—an infant in swathing-bands, which the woman holds out to him: and here the anxious eagerness of the

mother to save her child is no less truthfully expressed than is the suffering which she is herself enduring from the devouring flames, glowing around and threatening to destroy her. In the figure of the man who is receiving the child also there is as clearly to be perceived the anxiety which he suffers in his desire to rescue it, with the fear he entertains for his own life. Equally remarkable is the power of imagination displayed by this most ingenious and most admirable artist in a mother, who, driving her children before her, with bare feet, loosened vestments, girdle unbound, and hair dishevelled, bears a part of her clothing in her hands, and smites her children to hasten their flight from the falling ruins and from the scorching fury of the flames. There are besides other women, who, kneeling before the Pope, appear to be entreating that his Holiness will cause the fire to be staid.¹

The second picture also represents an incident from the life of Pope Leo IV : here the master has depicted the Port of Ostia occupied by the fleet of the Turks, who had come to make his Holiness prisoner. On the sea without are seen the Christians engaged in combat with the Turkish Armada, and numerous prisoners are already observed to be entering the harbour ; the latter are seen to issue from a boat whence they are dragged by soldiers, the attitudes and countenances of whom are exceedingly spirited and beautiful. The prisoners are clothed in a variety of vestments proper to seamen, and are led before St. Leo, whose figure is a portrait of the then reigning Pontiff, Leo X. His Holiness, who is in full pontificals, is enthroned between the Cardinal of Santa Maria-in-Portico, Bernardo Divizio da Bibbiena namely, and Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, who was afterwards

¹ For various details respecting this work, which is that wherein Raphael did the most with his own hand, those succeeding being for the most part by his scholars, see Passavant, vol. i. p. 261, vol. ii. p. 193.



THE MADONNA DEL PASSEGGIO.

IN THE BRIDGEWATER GALLERY.

Pope Clement VII. It would not be possible minutely to describe the admirable thought with which this most inventive artist has depicted the countenances of the prisoners, in whose expression all necessity for speech is superseded, so eloquently does it set forth their grief, their terror, and the bitter foretaste which they are enduring of the death preparing for them.¹

In the other two pictures is first Leo X. consecrating the most Christian King,² Francis I. of France. He is chanting the mass robed in full pontificals, and is blessing the oils wherewith to anoint the monarch at the same time that he likewise blesses the royal crown ; a vast body of Cardinals and Bishops, also in their episcopal robes, are serving the mass, and there are, moreover, numerous ambassadors and other personages portrayed from nature, with several figures dressed in the French manner of that period. The second picture represents the Coronation of the above-named king,³ and here the Pope and Francis are both drawn from the life, the king in armour, the Pope in his pontifical robes ; the College of Cardinals, a large number of Bishops, chamberlains, shield-bearers, and grooms of the chamber, all in their appropriate robes and dresses of ceremony, are placed in their due position and proper order as is usual in the papal chapel. Among

¹ This picture has suffered more than the others ; it is said to have been executed principally by Guadenzio da Ferrara, but re-touched by Sebastiano del Piombo, who received a sharp reproof from Titian for his pains.—Passavant, *ut supra*.

² The Coronation is that of Charlemagne, by Leo III, but the figure of the emperor is a portrait of Francis I, as that of the pontiff is of Pope Leo X. The work has been engraved by Aquila.

³ Here also Vasari is in error as to the subject, which is generally called the Justification of Leo III, that Pontiff taking an oath on the Gospels, and in the presence of Charlemagne, that he is not guilty in the matter of the charges brought against him by the nephew of Adrian I. The picture, according to Passavant, was executed by the scholars of Raphael.

them are many portraits from the life, as, for example, that of Giannozzo Pandolfini, Bishop of Troy, and the most intimate friend of Raphael, with those of many other persons holding eminent positions at that time. Near the King is a boy kneeling, who bears the crown in his hands; this is the portrait of Ippolito de' Medici, who was afterwards a Cardinal and became Vice-Chancellor—a highly esteemed prelate, and the firm friend, not of these arts only, but of all others—one too, whose memory I am myself bound to hold in the most grateful respect, and do indeed acknowledge myself deeply obliged to him, since my own commencement in art, such as it may have been, had its origin with that noble prelate.

To describe all the minute particulars of Raphael's works, wherein every object seems to be eloquently speaking in its silence, would not be possible; I must yet not omit to mention that beneath each of the pictures above described is represented a socle or basement, wherein are depicted the figures of various benefactors and defenders of the church, separated from each other by terminal figures of various character,¹ but all executed in such a manner that every part gives evidence of the utmost thought and care; all are full of spirit, with a propriety and harmony of colour that could not possibly be better. The ceiling of this apartment had been painted by Pietro Perugino, Raphael's master, and this the latter, from respect to his memory and from the affection that he bore him, would not destroy, seeing that by

¹ These termini are in chiaro-scuro of a yellow colour, they were partly drawn as well as executed, according to some authorities, by Giulio Romano. See Passavant, *ut supra*. Bottari, in the Roman edition, affirms them to have been so much injured by time as to have required almost entirely repainting, which, he further informs us, and is herein followed by all later commentators, was done in a very masterly manner by Carlo Maratta.

his instruction it was that Raphael himself was first conducted to the path which had led him to so high a position in art.

So comprehensive and extended were the views of Raphael in all things relating to his works, that he kept designers employed in all parts of Italy, at Puzzuolo, and even in Greece, to the end that he might want nothing of that which appertained to his art; and for this he spared neither labour nor cost.

Pursuing his works in the Vatican, Raphael decorated one of the halls in *terretta*,¹ depicting several of the Apostles and numerous Saints,² whom he has represented standing in niches or tabernacles.³ There also he caused his disciple Giovanni da Udine, who had not his equal in the delineation of animals, to paint all those then in the possession of Pope Leo X; the chameleon, for example, the civet cat, the apes, the parrots, the lions, the elephants,⁴ and other animals from distant lands. He also adorned many of the floors and other parts of the palace with *grottesche* and other embellishments; and gave the

¹ *Terretta*, otherwise called *Terra di Cava*, or, as by Baldinucci, *Terra da Boccali*. "The earth or clay used in making earthenware for the service of the table, and which, being mixed with powdered charcoal, was employed for making grounds, for painting *chiari-scuri*, and even for the tints. It is found in Rome, near St. Peter's and at Monte Spertoli, thirteen miles from Florence, and appears to resemble what in England is called 'China clay.'"—From a note to the *Ancient Treatises on the Arts of Painting*, admirably translated, with valuable notes, by Mrs. Merrifield. See the Volpato Manuscript.

² Christ and the twelve apostles rather.—*L. Schorn*.

³ These works were nearly destroyed by Pope Pius IV, who changed the Hall into a series of smaller chambers, but when its original form was restored to the apartment by Gregory XIII, that pontiff caused all then remaining to be restored by Taddeo Zuccherò. The figures of Christ and his Apostles are best known to us through the engravings of Marco Antonio.

⁴ Leo X. had received the present of an elephant from the King of Portugal, and had its portrait taken, in compliment to the Roman people, to whom the animal had furnished much amusement.—*Ed. Flor* 1832-8.

design for certain of the staircases, as well as for the loggie commenced by the architect Bramante, but which remained incomplete at the death of that master, when they were continued after a new design, and with many changes in the architecture, by Raphael himself, who prepared a model in wood, the arrangement and decoration of which were richer and more beautiful than that proposed by Bramante.

Pope Leo, desiring to show the greatness of his magnificence and generosity, caused Raphael to make designs for the ornaments in stucco, which he had resolved to have placed between the paintings¹ executed in the loggie, as well as for those in other parts; and as superintendent of all these *grottesche* in stucco, he appointed Giovanni da Udine, Giulio Romano being commissioned to prepare the figures; but the latter did not work at them to any great extent. The Pontiff also commissioned Giovanni Francesco,² Il Bologna,³ Perino del Vaga, Pellegrino da Modena, Vicenzio of San Gimignano, and Polidoro da Caravaggio, with many other artists, to execute historical pictures, separate figures, and many other portions of the works, all which Raphael caused to be completed with so much care, that he even suffered the pavement to be procured in Florence from Luca della Robbia,⁴ inasmuch that, whether for the paintings, the stucco work, the architecture or other beautiful inventions, a more admirable performance could not be executed, nay, could scarcely be imagined;

¹ Forty-eight subjects from the Old Testament namely, and four from the New, known as "The Bible of Raphael." He surrounded them with mythological representations, giving the designs of all himself. See Passavant, vols. i. and ii.

² Giovanni Francesco Penni, called Il Fattore.

³ Bartolommeo Ramenghi, called, from his birthplace, Il Bagnacavello.

⁴ Not from Luca della Robbia, who was then dead, but from his nephew Andrea.
—*Ed. Flor.* 1832-8.



THE HOLY FAMILY, THE PEARL.

IN THE MADRID MUSEUM.

its perfection was indeed the cause of Raphael's receiving the charge of all the works in painting and architecture that were to be executed in the palace.

It is said that Raphael was so courteous and obliging, that for the convenience of certain among his friends, he commanded the masons not to build the walls in a firm uninterrupted range, but to leave certain spaces and apertures among the old chambers on the lower floors, to the end that they might store casks, pipes, firewood, &c. therein; but these hollows and spaces weakened the base of the walls, so that it has since become needful to fill them in, seeing that the whole work began to show cracks and other signs of deterioration. For all the doors, wainscots, and other portions ornamented in wood-work, Raphael caused fine carvings to be prepared, and these were executed and finished in a very graceful manner by Gian Barile.¹

The architectural designs for the Vigna² of the Pope and for several houses in the Borgo,³ but more particularly for the palace of Messer Giovanni Battista dall' Aquila, which was a very beautiful edifice, were likewise prepared by Raphael. He also designed one for the Bishop of Troia, who caused him to construct it in the Via di San Gallo at Florence.⁴

For the Black Friars of San Sisto in Piacenza, Raphael painted a picture, intended to form the altar-piece for the high altar of their

¹ For details respecting this celebrated carver in wood, see Della Valle, *Lettere Sanesi*.

² Vasari here means the Villa on Monte Mario, commenced by Raphael, for the Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, afterwards Pope Clement VII, but finished by Giulio Romano, after designs of his own, which were different in many respects from those of Raphael.

³ Destroyed to make way for the Colonnade of San Pietro.

⁴ Now the property of the Nencini family.—*Ed. Flor.* 1838.

church, the subject of this work is the Virgin with St. Sixtus and Santa Barbara, a truly admirable production.¹ Raphael painted many pictures to be sent into France, but more particularly one for the king, St. Michael namely, in combat with the Arch-fiend; this also is considered singularly beautiful, a rock, whence flames are issuing, represents the centre of the earth, and from the clefts of this rock fires and sulphurous flames are proceeding, while Lucifer, whose limbs, scorched and burning, are depicted of various tints, exhibits every emotion of rage that pride, envenomed and inflated, can awaken against the Oppressor of his greatness, by whom he is deprived of his kingdom, and at whose hands he may never hope for peace, but is certain to receive heavy and perpetually enduring punishment. In direct contrast with this figure is that of the Archangel San Michele; his countenance is adorned with celestial beauty, he wears armour formed of iron and gold, fearlessness, force, and terror are in his aspect, he has cast Lucifer to the earth, and compels him to lie prone beneath his uplifted spear; the work was performed in so admirable a manner at all points, that Raphael obtained, as he had well merited, a large and honourable reward for it from the king.² This master also painted the portrait of Beatrice of Ferrara,³ with those of other ladies; that of his own innamorata is more particularly to be specified, but he also

¹ This work was purchased by Augustus III, King of Poland, for 22,000 crowns, and is now in the Dresden Gallery. Rumohr is of opinion that this picture was originally intended, not for an altar-piece, but to be borne in procession, since it is not on panel, as Vasari's "tavola" might imply, but on canvas. The work has been engraved by Muller.

² Now in the Louvre. Engraved by Edelinck and others.

³ Passavant is of opinion that the well-known picture in the Tribune of the Uffizj, hitherto called the *Fornarina*, is the portrait of Beatrice of Ferrara, who was not, as he further informs us, a royal personage, but may rather be conjectured to have been an improvisatrice.



THE MADONNA DI SAN SISTO.

IN THE DRESDEN GALLERY.

executed many others.¹ He was much disposed to the gentler affections and delighted in the society of woman, for whom he was ever ready to perform acts of service. But he also permitted himself to be devoted somewhat too earnestly to the pleasures of life, and in this respect was perhaps more than duly considered and indulged by his friends and admirers. We find it related that his intimate friend, Agostino Chigi, had commissioned him to paint the first floor of his palace,² but Raphael was at that time so much occupied with the love which he bore to the lady of his choice, that he could not give sufficient attention to the work. Agostino, therefore, falling at length into despair of seeing it finished, made so many efforts by means of friends and by his own care, that after much difficulty he at length prevailed on the lady to take up her abode in his house, where she was accordingly installed in apartments near those which Raphael was painting; in this manner the work was ultimately brought to a conclusion.³

For these pictures Raphael prepared all the cartoons, painting many of the figures also with his own hand in fresco.⁴ On the ceiling he represented the council of the Gods in heaven, and in the forms of these deities many of the outlines and lineaments may be perceived to be from the antique, as are various portions of the draperies and vestments, the whole admirably drawn and exhibiting

¹ Among these portraits was that of the celebrated beauty, Joanna of Aragon, now also in the Louvre, and engraved by Morghen. Respecting these and other female portraits by Raphael, see Passavant, *ut supra*.

² That on the Lungara namely, now called the Farnesina, and which has for many years been the property of the King of Naples.

³ Longhena, *Storia*, &c. will not admit the truth of this anecdote, which is denied by Passavant also. For details respecting the paintings see the last named writer, with Pungileoni, *Elogio Storico*. See also Fea, *Notizie*, &c.

⁴ According to the best authorities but little of these works was executed by Raphael himself. See Passavant. See also Rumohr, Longhena, and Pungileoni.

the most perfect grace. In a manner equally beautiful, Raphael further depicted the Marriage of Psyche, with the attendants ministering to Jupiter, and the Graces scattering flowers. In the angles of the ceiling also he executed other stories, representing in one of them a figure of Mercury with his flute; the god in his graceful movements appears really to be descending from heaven: in a second is the figure of Jupiter depicted with an aspect of the most sublime dignity, near him is Ganymede, whom with celestial gravity he is caressing, and on the remaining angles are other mythological representations. Lower down is the chariot of Venus, wherein Pysche is borne to heaven in a car which is drawn by the Graces, who are aided by Mercury. In those compartments of the vaulting which are above the arches and between the angles, are figures of boys most beautifully foreshortened, they are hovering in the air and bear the various attributes proper to the different deities; one has the thunderbolts of Jove for example, others bear the helmet, sword, and shield of Mars, or the hammers of Vulcan, some are laden with the club and lion-skin of Hercules, one carries the caduceus of Mercury, another the pipe of Pan, while others again have the agricultural implements of Vertumnus: all are accompanied by the animals appropriate to their various offices, and the whole work, whether as painting or poetry, is of a truth eminently beautiful.¹ All these representations Raphael further caused Giovanni da Udine to surround with a bordering of flowers, fruits, and foliage in the richest variety, disposed in festoons, and all as beautiful as it is possible that works of the kind can be.

This master likewise gave a design for the stables of the Chigi

¹ The pictures of the Farnesina were restored by Carlo Maratta.—*Ed. Flor.* 1832-8. See Bellori, *Della Reparazione*, &c.

Palace, with that for the chapel belonging to the same Agostino Chigi in the Church of Santa Maria del Popolo, this he painted also,¹ and furthermore made preparations for the construction of a magnificent sepulchral monument, for which he caused the Florentine sculptor Lorenzetto to execute two figures,² these are still in his house situate in the Macello de Corvi in Rome.³ But the death of Raphael, and afterwards that of Agostino,⁴ caused the execution of the sepulchre to be made over to Sebastiano Viniziano.⁵

Raphael had now attained to such high repute, that Leo X. commanded him to commence the painting of the great hall on the upper floor of the Papal Palace, that namely wherein the victories of Constantine are delineated, and this work he accordingly began.⁶ The Pope also desired to have certain very rich tapestries in silk and gold prepared, whereupon Raphael made ready the Cartoons, which

¹ According to the Italian commentators, Raphael made the cartoons for this chapel, but did not execute them. The Mosaic is said to be by the Venetian, Luigi da Pace, called Maestro Luisaccio. The whole work has been finely engraved by Gruner, Rome, 1840.

² They represent the Prophets Elisha and Jonas: the last said to have been modelled by Raphael himself.

³ They are now placed in the Chapel, with two other figures by Bernini, the latter representing the prophets Daniel and Habakkuk.

⁴ Agostino Chigi died a few days after the death of Raphael himself, on the 10th of April namely, 1520.

⁵ Sebastiano Luciani, better known among ourselves as Sebastiano del Piombo, so called from the office of signet (piombo) bearer, which he held under Clement VII.

⁶ He made the design for the general arrangement, that is to say, with the cartoons for the Speech of Constantine to his soldiers, that for the battle and those for the allegorical figures of Justice and Clemency. These last he caused Giulio Romano and Francesco Penni to paint in oil, on the wall, by way of specimen; the remainder were executed by his disciples after his death. For details respecting these works, see Passavant and the many other authorities above cited.

he coloured also with his own hand, giving them the exact form and size required for the tapestries. These were then despatched to Flanders to be woven, and when the cloths were finished they were sent to Rome.¹ This work was so admirably executed that it awakened astonishment in all who beheld it, as it still continues to do; for the spectator finds it difficult to conceive how it has been found possible to have produced such hair and beards by weaving, or to have given so much softness to the flesh by means of thread, a work which seems rather to have been performed by miracle than by the art of man, seeing that we have here animals, buildings, water, and innumerable objects of various kinds, all so well done that they do not look like a mere texture woven in the loom, but like paintings executed with the pencil.² This work cost 70,000 crowns, and is still preserved in the Papal chapel.³

For the Cardinal Colonna, Raphael painted a San Giovanni on canvas, which was an admirable work and greatly prized for its beauty by the cardinal, but the latter being attacked by a dangerous illness, and having been cured of his infirmity by the physician Messer Jacopo da Carpi, the latter desired to be presented with the picture of Raphael as his reward; the cardinal therefore, seeing his great wish for the same, and believing himself to be under infinite obligation to his physician, deprived himself of the work, and gave it to

¹ The tapestries were sent to Rome, but the cartoons were not returned. Seven of the latter, of which there were originally ten, are now, as our readers are aware, at the South Kensington Museum; of the remaining three, certain fragments only now exist.

² These tapestries, ten in number, were designed by Pope Leo X. for the lower part of the wall of the Sistine chapel, and there Raphael a short time before his death, on the 26th December, 1519, that is to say, had the happiness of seeing them suspended, and of beholding all Rome regarding them with delight and admiration.

³ The tapestries made after Raphael's designs were carried off in the sack of Rome by the Constable Bourbon, but were restored during the pontificate of Julius III.





CHRIST'S CHARGE TO PETER.

IN SOUTH KENSINGTON MUSEUM.

Messer Jacopo. It is now at Florence in the possession of Francesco Benintendi.¹

Raphael also painted a picture for the Cardinal and Vice-chancellor Giulio de' Medici,² a Transfiguration namely, which was destined to be sent into France. This he executed with his own hand, and labouring at it continually, he brought it to the highest perfection, depicting the Saviour transfigured on Mount Tabor, with eleven of the disciples awaiting him at the foot of the Mount. To these is meanwhile brought a youth possessed of a spirit, who is also awaiting the descent of Christ, by whom he is to be liberated from the demon.³ The possessed youth is shown in a distorted attitude stretching forth his limbs, crying, rolling his eyes, and exhibiting in every movement the suffering he endures; the flesh, the veins, the pulses, are all seen to be contaminated by the malignity of the spirit, the terror and pain of the possessed being rendered further manifest by his pallid colour and writhing gestures. The figure is supported by an old man in whose widely open eyes the light is reflected, he is embracing and seeking to comfort the afflicted boy, his knitted brow and the expression of his face show at once the apprehension he feels, and the force with which he is labouring to combat his fears; he looks fixedly at the apostles as if hoping to derive courage and consolation from their aspect. There is one woman among others in this picture who is the principal figure therein, and who, kneeling before the two

¹ This work has long adorned the Tribune of the Florentine Gallery of the Uffizj. In the collection of the same gallery is the sketch for it in red chalk. For details respecting the numerous copies made from this picture, see Passavant, vol. ii. p. 355.

² Afterwards Pope Clement VII.

³ For this work Raphael was to receive 655 ducats; 224 of which remaining unpaid at his death, were then made over to his heir, Giulio Romano, who probably worked with him at this picture.—*Ed. Flor.* 1832-8.

just described, turns her head towards the apostles, and seems by the movement of her arms in the direction of the possessed youth, to be pointing out his misery to their attention. The Apostles also, some of whom are standing, some seated, and others kneeling, give evidence of the deep compassion they feel for that great misfortune.

In this work the master has of a truth produced figures and heads of such extraordinary beauty, so new, so varied, and at all points so admirable, that among the many works executed by his hand, this, by the common consent of all artists, is declared to be the most worthily renowned, the most excellent, the most divine. Whoever shall desire to see in what manner Christ transformed into the Godhead should be represented, let him come and behold it in this picture. The Saviour is shown floating over the mount in the clear air; the figure, foreshortened, is between those of Moses and Elias, who, illumined by his radiance, awaken into life beneath the splendour of the light. Prostrate on the earth are Peter, James, and John, in attitudes of great and varied beauty, one has his head bent entirely to the ground, another defends himself with his hands from the brightness of that immense light, which proceeds from the splendour of Christ, who is clothed in vestments of snowy whiteness, his arms thrown open and the head raised towards heaven, while the essence and Godhead of all the three persons united in himself, are made apparent in their utmost perfection by the divine art of Raphael.

But as if that sublime genius had gathered all the force of his powers into one effort, whereby the glory and majesty of art should be made manifest in the countenance of Christ; having completed that, as one who had finished the great work which he had to accomplish, he touched the pencils no more, being shortly afterwards overtaken by death.¹

¹ Few readers will require to be reminded that the glorious Transfiguration of







THE TRANSFIGURATION.

IN THE VATICAN, ROME.



Having now described the works of this most excellent artist, I will not permit myself to consider it a labour to say somewhat for the benefit of those who practise our calling, respecting the manner of Raphael, before proceeding to the relation of such particulars as remain to be specified in regard to other circumstances of his life, and to those which relate to his death. In his childhood he had imitated the manner of his master, Pietro Perugino, but had greatly ameliorated the same, whether as regarded design, colouring, or invention : having done this, it then appeared to him that he had done enough, but when he had attained to a riper age he perceived clearly that he was still too far from the truth of nature. On becoming acquainted with the works of Leonardo da Vinci, who in the expression which he gave to his heads, whether male or female, had no equal, and who surpassed all other painters in the grace and movement which he imparted to his figures ; seeing these works, I say, Raphael stood confounded in astonishment and admiration : the manner of Leonardo pleased him more than any other that he had ever seen, and he set

Raphael is now in the Vatican. It was taken, with other works, to Paris in 1797, and was there cleaned, having become almost indistinguishable. "The painter," remarks the German annotator, Schorn, "had succeeded in expressing the light emanating from the person of Christ, and illuminating those beneath, by a masterly use of chiaro-scuro, but the lampblack having been affected by the lapse of time, much of the original beauty of the work is lost. The head of the Apostle Andrew, the figure of the kneeling maiden, and other parts, still remain, nevertheless, to give a fair idea of what the whole has been." For minute details respecting this work, see Fiorillo, *Geschichte der Malerei in Italien*. Marco di Figuera, *Examen Analitico del Quadro de la Transfiguracion*. Constantin, *Idées Italiennes sur quelques Tableaux célèbres*, Florence, 1840 ; and Rumohr, *Italienesche Forschungen*. See also Richardson, *Account of Statues, Paintings, &c.* London, 1722 ; Duppa, London, 1816 ; with many other writers, who have treated this subject with more or less ability. A very fine drawing made for the engraving of this work is now at South Kensington, removed from Hampton Court. See the *Catalogue of the South Kensington Museum*, and an article in a recent number of the *Athenæum* on the Cartoons, &c.

himself zealously to the study thereof with the utmost zeal ; by degrees therefore, abandoning, though not without great difficulty, the manner of Pietro Perugino, he endeavoured as much as was possible to imitate that of Leonardo. But whatever pains he took, and in spite of all his most careful endeavours, there were some points and certain difficulties of art in which he could never surpass the last named master.¹ Many are without doubt of opinion that Raphael surpassed Leonardo in tenderness and in a certain natural facility, but he was assuredly by no means superior in respect of that force of conception and grandeur which is so noble a foundation in art, and in which few masters have proved themselves equal to Leonardo : Raphael has nevertheless approached him more nearly than any other painter, more particularly in the graces of colouring.

But to speak more exclusively of Raphael himself : in the course of time he found a very serious impediment, in that manner which he had acquired from Pietro in his youth,² and which he had at the first so readily adopted : dry, minute, and defective in design, he could not completely divest himself of all recollection thereof, and this caused him to find the utmost difficulty in learning to treat worthily the beauties of the nude form, and to master the methods of those difficult foreshortenings which Michael Angelo Buonarotti executed in his Cartoon, for the Hall of the Council in Florence. Now any artist,

¹ An Italian commentator here remarks, that, notwithstanding the marvellous genius of Leonardo, he was exceedingly whimsical, and frequently sought the difficult as well as the good. Raphael looked only to the perfection of his work, and if simple means sufficed to produce that, with these means he contented himself. "It may, therefore, be fairly inquired," continues our writer, "whether in these 'difficulties' of Vasari, Raphael could not, or whether it was that he would not, surpass Leonardo." This is a question which we leave our readers to determine.

² The Cavalier Tommaso Puccini, in a MS. note to Vasari, remarks, that on this point he "cannot agree with the biographer, since it is certain that to Pietro we owe half the success of Raphael Sanzio."—*Ed. Flor.* 1832-8.

who might have lost courage from believing that he had been previously throwing away his time, would never, however fine his genius, have accomplished what Raphael afterwards effected: for the latter, having so to speak, cured and altogether divested himself of the manner of Pietro, the better to acquire that of Michael Angelo, which was full of difficulties in every part; may be said, from a master to have almost become again a disciple, and compelled himself by incredible labours to effect that in a few months, now that he was become a man, which even in his youthful days, and at the time when all things are most easily acquired, would have demanded a period of many years for its attainment.¹ It is by no means to be denied, that he who is not early imbued with just principles, or who has not entered from the first on that manner which he can be content to pursue, and who does not gradually obtain facility in the difficulties of the art, by means of experience (seeking fully to comprehend every part and to confirm himself by practice in the knowledge of all), will scarcely ever attain to perfection; or if he do attain it, must do so at the cost of much longer time and greatly increased labour.

At the time when Raphael determined to change and ameliorate his manner, he had never given his attention to the nude form, with that degree of care and study which the subject demands, having drawn it from the life only after the manner which he had seen practised by Pietro his master, adding nevertheless to all that he did, that grace which had been imparted to him by nature. But he thenceforth devoted himself to the anatomical study of the nude figure, and to the investigation of the muscles in dead and excoriated bodies as

¹ "The works of Raphael in Florence," remarks the German annotator, Ludwig Schorn, "bear no trace of influence exercised on his manner by the cartoons of Michael Angelo, while they show many of that exercised by the works of Fra Bartolommeo, and by the earnest manner of Leonardo da Vinci."

well as in those of the living ; for in the latter they are not so readily to be distinguished, because of the impediment presented by the covering of the skin, as in those from which the outer integuments have been removed ; but thus examined, the master learnt from them in what manner they acquire fulness and softness by their union, each in its due proportion, and all in their respective places, and how by the due management of certain flexures, the perfection of grace may be imparted to various attitudes as seen in different aspects. Thus also he became aware of the effects produced by the inflation of parts, and by the elevation or depression of any given portion or separate member of the body or of the whole frame. The same researches also made him acquainted with the articulations of the bones, with the distribution of the nerves, the course of the veins, &c. by the study of all which he rendered himself excellent in every point required to perfect the painter who aspires to be of the best : knowing, nevertheless, that in this respect he could never attain to the eminence of Michael Angelo ; like a man of great judgment as he was, he considered that painting does not consist wholly in the delineation of the nude form, but has a much wider field ; he perceived that those who possess the power of expressing their thoughts well and with facility, and of giving effective form to their conceptions, likewise deserve to be enumerated among the perfect painters ; and that he, who in the composition of his pictures shall neither confuse them by too much, nor render them poor by too little, but gives to all its due arrangement and just distribution, may also be reputed a judicious and able master.

But in addition to this, as Raphael rightly judged, the art should be further enriched by new and varied inventions in perspective, by views of buildings, by landscapes, by a graceful manner of clothing the figures, and by causing the latter sometimes to be lost in the obscurity of shadows, sometimes to come prominently forward into

the clear light ; nor did he fail to perceive the importance of giving beauty and animation to the heads of women and children, or of imparting to all, whether male or female, young or old, such an amount of spirit and movement as may be suited to the occasion. He gave its due value, likewise, to the attitudes of horses in battle scenes, to their movements in flight, and to the bold bearing of the warriors : the due representation of animals in all their varied forms, did not escape his consideration, still less did that of so portraying the likenesses of men that they may appear to be alive, and may be known for those whom they are intended to represent. Raphael perceived in like manner that innumerable accessories of other kinds and of all sorts were equally to be taken into account, as for example the ornament of the work by well arranged and beautiful draperies, and vestments of every kind ; by due attention to the helmets and other parts of armour, to the appropriate clothing of the feet, and to the head-dresses of women : he saw that equal care should be accorded to the hair and head of figures, to vases, trees, grottoes, rocks, fires, the air, either turbid or serene, clouds, rains, tempests, lightnings, dews, the darkness of night, the moonlight, the sunshine, and an infinite variety of objects beside, to every one of which attention is demanded by the requirements of painting: all these things, I say, being well considered by Raphael, he resolved, since he could not attain to the eminence occupied by Michael Angelo on the point after which he was then labouring, to equal, or perhaps to surpass him in those other qualities that we have just enumerated, and thus he devoted himself, not to the imitation of Buonarotti, lest he should waste his time in useless efforts, but to the attainment of perfection in those parts generally of which we have here made mention.¹

¹ “ We need scarcely remark,” observes Schorn, “ that in his partiality for Michael Angelo, Vasari here attributes that which was indeed the effect of Raphael’s universality

And well would it have been for many artists of our day if they had done the same, instead of pursuing the study of Michael Angelo's works alone, wherein they have not been able to imitate that master, nor found power to approach his perfection, they would not then have exhausted themselves by so much vain effort, nor acquired a manner so hard, so laboured, so entirely destitute of beauty, being, as it is, without any merit of colouring and exceedingly poor in conception; but instead of this, might very possibly, by the adoption of more extended views and the endeavour to attain perfection in other departments of the art, have done credit to themselves as well as rendered service to the world.¹

Having made the resolution above referred to, therefore, and learning that Fra Bartolommeo had a very good manner in painting, drew very correctly, and had a pleasing mode of colouring, although, with the intention of giving more relief to his figures, he sometimes made his shadows too dark: knowing all this, Raphael determined to adopt so much of the Monk's manner as he should find needful or agreeable to him; to take a medium course that is, as regarded design and colouring, and mingling with what he obtained from the manner of Fra Bartolommeo, other qualities selected from the best that he could find in other masters, of many manners, he thus formed one, which was afterwards considered his own,² and which ever has been and ever will be highly esteemed by all artists.

of genius, to his supposed rivalry with the first-named master." Puccini has an observation to the same effect.

¹ The remarks which Vasari here makes in regard to his fellow-students, are declared with reason by all writers who have noted the passage, to be more especially applicable to himself and his own works.

² The art of Raphael would indeed have remained most inert and lifeless, had it consisted in the mere imitation and mingling of different manners. That he accepted the good wherever he found it, is indeed most true, nor did he fail to profit by whatever

Thus his manner was afterwards seen perfected in the Sybils and Prophets of the work, executed, as we have said, for the Church of Santa Maria della Pace, and in the conduct of which he was greatly assisted by the circumstance of his having seen the work of Michael Angelo in the Chapel of the Pope. Nay, had Raphael remained constant to the manner as there seen, had he not endeavoured to enlarge and vary it, for the purpose of showing that he understood the nude form as well as Michael Angelo, he would not have lost any portion of the good name he had acquired; but the nude figures in that apartment of the Torre Borgia, wherein is depicted the Conflagration of the Borgo Nuovo, although certainly good, are not by any means all excellent, or perfect in every part.¹ In like manner, those painted by this master on the ceiling of Agostino Chigi's Palace in the Trastevere, are not altogether satisfactory, since they want that grace and softness which were peculiar to Raphael; but the cause of this was, in great part, his having suffered them to be painted after his designs by other artists,² an error which, judicious as he was, he soon became aware of, and resolved to execute the picture of the Transfiguration in San Pietro-a-Montorio, entirely with his own hand, and without any assistance from others. In this work, therefore, will be found, all those qualities which, as we have said, a good

progress was made in art, but his guide at every step, and the cause of his greatness, was the ever ready eye of this master for nature, and his ceaseless study of her beauties, as seen from the point of view presented by his own artistic idea and feeling.

¹ "An opinion which may have been formed by Vasari, from the fact of his having regarded art from a false point of view," remarks an Italian annotator. "No one denies that in drawing the nude figure, Michael Angelo attained to the *ne plus ultra*. But what Raphael had in mind was the *ne quid nimis*; nor did he forget the further warning, *sunt certi denique fines*, &c; there were consequently limits which he did not desire to pass."

² He is then not to be reproved for their defects of execution.—*Schorn*, and others.

picture demands, and should exhibit: nay, had Raphael not used in this picture, almost as it were from caprice, the lampblack, or printer's black, which, as we have more than once remarked, does of its nature become evermore darker with time, and is thus injurious to the other colours used with it, had he not done this, I believe that the work would now be as fresh as when he painted it; whereas, it is, on the contrary, not a little darkened.

I have thought proper to make these remarks at the close of this life, to the end, that all may discern the labour, study, and care to which this honoured artist constantly subjected himself, and with a view, more particularly, to the benefit of other painters, who may learn from what has been said, to avoid those impediments, from the influence of which the genius and judgment of Raphael availed to secure him. I will also add the further observation, that every man should content himself with performing such works as he may reasonably be supposed to be capable of and equal to, by his inclination and the gifts bestowed on him by nature, without seeking to contend for that which she has not qualified him to attain, and this let him do, that he may not uselessly spend his time, fatiguing himself vainly, nay, not unfrequently, to his own injury as well as discredit.¹ Let it be observed, moreover, that when what has been accomplished suffices, it is not good to make further efforts, merely in the hope of surpassing those who by some special gift of nature, or by the particular favour accorded to them by the Almighty, have performed, or are performing, miracles in the art; for it is certain, that the man who has not the needful endowments, let him labour as he may, can never

¹ "A piece of advice of such value," remarks a compatriot of our author, "that it might be usefully written over the entrance of every academy of the fine arts throughout Europe."

effect those things to which another, having received the gift from nature, has attained without difficulty; and of this we have an example among the old masters in Paolo Uccello, who, struggling against the natural bent of his faculties to make progress on a given path, went ever backwards instead. The same thing has been done in our own days, and but a short time since, by Jacopo da Pontormo; nay, examples have been seen in the experience of many others, as we have said before, and as will often be said again. And this is permitted to occur, perhaps, in order that when Heaven has distributed its favours to mankind, each one may be content with the portion which has fallen to his lot.

But I have now discoursed respecting these questions of art at more length than perhaps was needful, and will return to the life and death of Raphael. This master lived in the strictest intimacy with Bernardo Divizio, Cardinal of Bibbiena, who had for many years importuned him to take a wife of his selection, nor had Raphael directly refused compliance with the wishes of the Cardinal, but had put the matter off, by saying that he would wait some three or four years longer. The term which he had thus set approached before Raphael had thought of it, when he was reminded by the Cardinal of his promise, and being as he ever was just and upright, he would not depart from his word, and therefore accepted a niece of the Cardinal himself for his wife. But as this engagement was nevertheless a heavy restraint to him, he put off the marriage from time to time, insomuch that several months passed and the ceremony had not yet taken place.¹ Yet this was not done without a very honourable

¹ The intended bride of Raphael was Maria Bibbiena, but this lady died before he did, as we learn from the inscription placed in the Pantheon by the testamentary injunction of Raphael himself. It is, therefore, not improbable, that the true cause of the marriage being deferred was the illness of the lady.—*Schorn, Masselli*, and others.

motive, for Raphael having been for many years in the service of the Court, and being the creditor of Leo X. for a large sum of money, had received an intimation to the effect, that when the Hall with which he was then occupied was completed, the Pontiff intended to reward him for his labours as well as to do honour to his talents by bestowing on him the red hat,¹ of which he meant to distribute a considerable number, many of them being designed for persons whose merits were greatly inferior to those of Raphael.² The painter meanwhile did not abandon the light attachment by which he was enchained, and one day on returning to his house from one of these secret visits, he was seized with a violent fever,³ which being mistaken for a cold, the physicians inconsiderately caused him to be bled, whereby he found himself exhausted, when he had rather required to be strengthened. Thereupon he made his will, and, as a good Christian, he sent the object of his attachment from the house, but left her a sufficient provision wherewith she might live in decency; having done so much, he divided his property among his disciples; Giulio

¹ No reader will now require to be reminded that the red hat is that of a cardinal, and that to receive the red hat is equivalent to being raised to the dignity of a cardinal of the Roman Church.

² The father Pungileoni, and the advocate C. Fea, deny that there was any intention of this kind on the part of Leo, but Longhena, in a note to the *Istoria*, makes certain observations from which it seems probable that what we here read is nevertheless true. We leave our readers to decide between these authorities; but it is to be remarked that no instance of the cardinal's hat having been bestowed in recompense of artistic talent has yet been known.

³ Longhena, Pungileoni, Passavant, and all whose researches entitle them to attention, agree to attribute the fever which deprived the world of this great painter, to the too earnest zeal of his labours in the examination of the Roman antiquities, labours which rendered a frame prematurely weakened by mental exertions, an easy prey to the malaria so fatally prevalent in the localities to which his researches must of necessity have led him.

Romano, that is to say, whom he always loved greatly, and Giovanni Francesco,¹ with whom was joined a certain priest of Urbino, who was his kinsman, but whose name I do not know.² He furthermore commanded that a certain portion of his property should be employed in the restoration of one of the ancient tabernacles in Santa Maria Ritonda,³ which he had selected as his burial-place,⁴ and for which he had ordered that an altar, with the figure of Our Lady in marble, should be prepared;⁵ all that he possessed besides he bequeathed to Giulio Romano and Giovanni Francesco, naming Messer Baldassare da Pescia, who was then Datary⁶ to the Pope, as his executor. He then confessed, and in much contrition completed the course of his life, on the day whereon it had commenced, which was Good Friday.⁷ The master was then in the thirty-seventh year of his age, and as he embellished the world by his talents while on earth, so is it to be believed that his soul is now adorning heaven.

After his death the body of Raphael was placed at the upper end of the hall wherein he had last worked, with the picture of the Transfiguration, which he had executed for Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, at the head of the corpse. He who, regarding that living picture, after-

¹ To these disciples he left his artistic possessions only; to Cardinal Bibbiena he bequeathed the palace built for him by Bramante.

² The priest of Urbino, his kinsman, and the Brotherhood of the Misericordia in that city, dividing a certain portion of the master's property between them, and the remainder going to his kinsmen on the mother's side, the sons of Giovanni Battista Ciarla.

³ The Pantheon is popularly so called.

⁴ Raphael also left funds for a mass to be performed yearly for the repose of his soul in Santa Maria *ad Martyres*, so is the Pantheon also called.

⁵ This was done by Lorenzo Lotti, called Lorenzetto.

⁶ President of the Chancery.

⁷ In the year 1520.

wards turned to consider that dead body, felt his heart bursting with grief as he beheld them. The loss of Raphael caused the Cardinal to command that this work should be placed on the High Altar of San Pietro-a-Montorio, where it has ever since been held in the utmost veneration for its own great value, as well as for the excellence of its author.¹ The remains of this divine artist received that honourable sepulture which the noble spirit whereby they had been informed had so well deserved, nor was there any artist in Rome who did not deeply bewail the loss sustained by the departure of the Master, or who failed to accompany his remains to their repose.

The death of Raphael was in like manner bitterly deplored by all the papal court, not only because he had formed part thereof, since he had held the office of chamberlain to the Pontiff, but also because Leo X. had esteemed him so highly, that his loss occasioned that sovereign the bitterest grief.² Oh most happy and thrice blessed spirit, of whom all are proud to speak, whose actions are celebrated with praise by all men, and the least of whose works left behind thee, is admired and prized!

When this noble artist died, well might Painting have departed also, for when he closed his eyes, she too was left as it were blind.³ But now to us, whose lot it is to come after him, there remains to

¹ Considered as our readers are aware the first picture in the world, and now in the Vatican.

² During his illness, which lasted a fortnight, Raphael is said to have received proofs of the most affectionate interest from all quarters, not excepting the Pope himself.

³ His place of burial was in the Pantheon, immediately beneath the figure of the Madonna, executed, as above said, by Lorenzetto. The tomb was opened in Oct. 1833, when the skeleton was found remaining, with the skull entire, proving that a skull previously preserved as that of Raphael in the Academy of St. Luke, in Rome, was not that of the painter. This opening of the tomb of Raphael is described in Italian by the Prince Pietro Odescalchi, and in German by the painter Overbeck.

imitate the good, or rather the excellent, of which he has left us the example, and as our obligations to him and his great merits well deserve to retain the most grateful remembrance of him in our hearts, while we ever maintain his memory in the highest honour with our lips. To him of a truth it is that we owe the possession of invention, colouring, and execution, brought alike and altogether to that point of perfection for which few could have dared to hope; nor has any man ever aspired to pass before him.¹

And in addition to the benefits which this great master conferred on art, being as he was its best friend, we have the further obligation to him of having taught us by his life in what manner we should comport ourselves towards great men, as well as towards those of lower degree, and even towards the lowest; nay there was among his many extraordinary gifts one of such value and importance, that I can never sufficiently admire it, and always think thereof with astonishment. This was the power accorded to him by Heaven, of bringing all who approached his presence into harmony; an effect inconceivably surprising in our calling, and contrary to the nature of our artists, yet all, I do not say of the inferior grades only, but even those who lay claim to be great personages (and of this humour our art produces immense numbers), became as of one mind, once they began to labour in the society of Raphael, continuing in such unity and concord, that all harsh feelings and evil dispositions became subdued and disappeared at the sight of him; every vile and base thought depart-

¹ Vasari has omitted here to mention the circumstance that Raphael was architect of St. Peter's, nor does he here allude to the fact, that he was much occupied towards the close of his life with measures for the restoration of ancient Rome, but near the end of his work, and when speaking of his obligations to the writings of Lorenzo Ghiberti and Ghirlandajo, he remarks, that the annotations of Raphael were also of the most essential service to him.

ing from the mind before his influence. Such harmony prevailed at no other time than his own. And this happened because all were surpassed by him in friendly courtesy as well as in art; all confessed the influence of his sweet and gracious nature, which was so replete with excellence, and so perfect in all the charities, that not only was he honoured by men, but even by the very animals who would constantly follow his steps and always loved him.¹

We find it related, that whenever any other painter, whether known to Raphael or not, requested any design or assistance, of whatever kind, at his hands, he would invariably leave his work to do him service; he continually kept a large number of artists employed, all of whom he assisted and instructed with an affection which was rather as that of a father to his children, than merely as of an artist to artists. From these things it followed, that he was never seen to go to Court but surrounded and accompanied, as he left his house, by some fifty painters, all men of ability and distinction, who attended him thus to give evidence of the honour in which they held him. He did not, in short, live the life of a painter, but that of a prince. Wherefore, oh art of Painting! well mightest thou for thy part, then esteem thyself most happy, having, as thou hadst, one artist among thy sons, by whose virtues and talents thou wert thyself exalted to heaven. Thrice blessed indeed mayest thou declare thyself, since thou hast seen thy disciples, by pursuing the footsteps of a man so exalted, acquire the knowledge of how life should be employed, and become

¹ "Who," inquires a zealous annotator of our author, "who, among the most affectionate disciples of the great painter, could eulogize him with more enthusiasm and cordiality than does our poor Vasari?" (he alludes to the bitter reproach of partiality so often and so unjustly brought against the biographer) "he too who was the follower, not only of another master, but of that one precisely who was the most powerful and most untired antagonist of the object of his praise."

impressed with the importance of uniting the practice of virtue to that of art. Conjoined as these were in the person of Raphael, their force availed to constrain the greatness of Julius II. and to awaken the generosity of Leo X, both of whom, high as they were in dignity, selected him for their most intimate friend, and treated him with every kind of familiarity; insomuch that by means of the favour he enjoyed with them and the powers with which they invested him, he was enabled to do the utmost honour to himself and to art. Most happy also may well be called those who, being in his service, worked under his own eye; since it has been found that all who take pains to imitate this master have arrived at a safe haven, and attained to a respectable position. In like manner, all who do their best to emulate his labours in art, will be honoured on earth, as it is certain that all who resemble him in the rectitude of his life will receive their reward in heaven.



The following epitaph was written on Raphael by the Cardinal Bembo.

D. O. M.
 RAPHAELI. SANCTO. JOAN. F. VRBINATI.
 PICTORI EMINENTISS. VETERVMQ AEMVLO,
 CVIVS SPIRANTEIS PROPE IMAGINEIS
 SI CONTEMPLERE,
 NATVRAE. ATQVE ARTIS FOEDVS
 FACILE INSPEXERIS,
 IVLII II. ET LEONIS X. PONT. MAX.
 PICTVRAE ET ARCHITECT. OPERIBVS
 GLORIAM AVXIT.
 VIXIT. AN. XXXVII. INTEGER. INTEGROS.¹
 QVO DIE NATVS EST, EO ESSE DESIIT.
 VII. ID. APRIL. MDXX.
 ILLE HIC. EST. RAPHAEL, TIMVIT. QVO. SOSPITE. VINCI
 RERUM. MAGNA. PARENS, ET MORIENTE. MORI.

¹ "For the greater exactness," remarks Pungileoni, "we might here add, *DIES VIII.*" And in so short a life did Raphael find time to execute all the pictures enumerated by Vasari, with many others, which he has omitted: to render himself accomplished in architecture to such an extent, that he was found capable of succeeding Bramante in the direction of the building of St. Peter's; to study the works of antiquity, and to pursue the most rigid and minute inquiry into those found in and around Rome. Nay, so passionate a lover, and so zealous a student was Raphael of these antiquities, that he wrote to Leo X. concerning them, in these memorable words: "But with what justice can we complain of the Goths and Vandals, and other perfidious enemies, if those who should defend these few relics of old Rome, as fathers or guardians, have themselves been long found engaged in efforts to destroy them?" &c. It is even believed that Raphael collected materials for the history of the artists who had preceded him, since Vasari, as we have before said, admits himself to have profited by the writings of Raphael among those of other authors.

The Count Baldassare Castiglione also wrote respecting the death of this master in the manner following:—

*Quod lacerum corpus medica sanaverit arte,
Hippolytum, Stygiis et revocarit aquis ;
Ad Stygias ipse est raptus Epidaurius undas ;
Sic precium vitæ mors fuit artifice.
Tu quoque dum toto laniatam corpore Romam
Componis miro, Raphael, ingenio ;
Atque Urbis lacerum ferro, igni, annisque cadaver,
Ad vitam, antiquum jam revocasque decus.
Movisti superum invidiam, indignataque mors est,
Te dudum extinctis reddere posse animam.
Et quod longa dies paullatim aboleverat, hoc te
Mortali spreta lege parare iterum.
Sic miser heu, prima cadis intercepte juventai ;
Deberi et morti nostraque, nosque mones.*





APPENDIX.

A CATALOGUE OF THE PRINCIPAL PAINTINGS BY RAPHAEL, CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO THEIR SUBJECTS.

TRANSLATED FROM THE APPENDIX TO "RAPHAEL VON URBINO UND SEIN VATER
GIOVANNI SANTI," BY J. D. PASSAVANT, FORMERLY DIRECTOR
OF THE MUSEUM AT FRANKFORT.

*The figures at the beginning of each line show the chronological order in which
the subjects were painted.*

Nos. 1 to 20 were painted between A. D. 1500 and 1504, in the manner of Perugino.
Nos. 21 to 55 „ from 1504 to 1510, at Florence.
Nos. 56 to 103 „ from 1508 to 1513, at Rome, in the time of Pope Julius II.
Nos. 104 to 248 „ from 1513 to 1520, at Rome, in the time of Pope Leo X.

Subjects taken from the Bible.

No. 121 to 172.



FIFTY-TWO FRESCOES in the cupolas of the Loggie of the Vatican. Forty-eight subjects from the Old Testament and four from the New Testament, executed by the pupils of Raphael, after his small sepia sketches, under the direction of Giulio Romano.

4. A CHURCH BANNER, on which are painted the Holy Trinity, and on the reverse the Creation of Eve, at Citta di Castello.
67. THE FIRST SIN, on the ceiling of the Chamber of the "Segnatura" in the Vatican.
74. MOSES WITH THE TABLES OF THE LAW, on the dado of the Chamber of the "Segnatura" in the Vatican.
70. THE JUDGMENT OF SOLOMON, on the ceiling of the Chamber of the "Segnatura" in the Vatican.

- No.
94. GOD APPEARING TO NOAH. Fresco on the ceiling of the Chamber of Heliodorus in the Vatican.
95. THE SACRIFICE OF ABRAHAM. Fresco on the ceiling of the Chamber of Heliodorus in the Vatican.
96. THE DREAM OF JACOB. Fresco on the ceiling of the Chamber of Heliodorus in the Vatican.
97. GOD APPEARING TO MOSES IN THE BURNING BUSH. Fresco on the ceiling of the Chamber of Heliodorus in the Vatican.
103. JOSEPH BEFORE PHARAOH; THE RED SEA; MOSES RECEIVING THE TABLES OF THE LAW. Small paintings in the embrasures of the windows in the Chamber of Heliodorus.
105. THE PROPHETS. Frescoes in S. Maria della Pace, at Rome. Daniel and David, Jonah and Hosea.
85. THE PROPHET ISAIAH. Fresco in the Church of S. Agostino, at Rome.
110. VISION OF EZEKIEL. Pitti Palace, Florence.

Subjects relating to Christ.

111. BIRTH OF CHRIST. Lost.
36. ADORATION OF THE SHEPHERDS. Formerly at Bologna.
1. THE INFANT JESUS CARESSED BY THE LITTLE ST. JOHN. At Perugia.
- 197 to 207. TAPESTRIES by Raphael, in the Vatican, second series. Twelve subjects taken from the Life of Christ, and a thirteenth representing allegorical figures (for the most part by Giulio Romano and other pupils of Raphael).
- 186 to 195. TAPESTRIES by Raphael, in the Vatican; first series, taken from the History of the Apostles. Ten subjects.
- THE SEVEN CARTOONS of Raphael for the tapestries; three are lost. Formerly at Hampton Court, now at the South Kensington Museum.
120. CHRIST AND THE APOSTLES. Fresco in the "Sala Vecchia de Palafrenieri" at Rome. (Repainted by Taddeo Zuccheri).
73. CHRIST AND HIS APOSTLES; in the embrasure of a window in the Chamber of the "Segnatura" in the Vatican.
17. CHRIST UPON THE MOUNT OF OLIVES; in Mr. Fuller Maitland's Collection, England.
224. CHRIST BEARING THE CROSS. (*Lo Spasimo di Sicilia*). Madrid Museum.

No.

6. CHRIST ON THE CROSS AND FOUR SAINTS, (from the Fesch Gallery).
Now in Earl Dudley's Collection.
48. THE ENTOMBMENT. Borghese Palace, Rome.
20. Three Small Circular Pictures. CHRIST seated upon a sarcophagus;
SAINT LOUIS; and SAINT HERCULANUS. Berlin Museum.
2. THE RESURRECTION. In the Vatican.
27. PEACE BE WITH YOU. (*Pax vobis*). In the Tosi Collection, at Brescia.
241. THE TRANSFIGURATION. In the Vatican.
119. SUBJECTS RELATING TO CHRIST, in the embrasures of the windows
of the Chamber of the "Incendio del Borgo."

Holy Families and Madonnas.

91. THE HOLY FAMILY, *Of Naples*. Naples Museum.
227. THE HOLY FAMILY, *The Pearl*. Madrid Museum.
226. THE HOLY FAMILY, *Beneath the Oak*. Madrid Museum.
46. THE HOLY FAMILY, *with the Infant Jesus seated upon a lamb*. Madrid
Museum.
229. THE HOLY FAMILY, *La Grande* (de 1518). Louvre.
232. THE HOLY FAMILY, *La Petite*. Louvre.
45. THE HOLY FAMILY, *The Canigiani*. Munich Museum.
38. THE HOLY FAMILY, *with the beardless St. Joseph*. Hermitage, St.
Petersburgh.
33. THE HOLY FAMILY, *with the Palm Tree*. Bridgewater Gallery.
84. THE MADONNA, *The Fuligno*. Vatican.
221. THE MADONNA, *della Sedia*. Florence.
30. THE MADONNA, *with the Goldfinch (cardellino)*. Florence.
21. THE MADONNA, *The Grand Duke of Tuscany's*, Pitti Palace, Florence.
54. THE MADONNA, *Baldaqin*. Pitti Palace.
25. ALTAR PICTURES for the Monastery of Saint Anthony of Padua, at
Perugia. Principal painting, MADONNA WITH SAINTS; The Tym-
pan, THE ETERNAL FATHER, both in the Naples Museum;
Paintings on the predella — Christ on the Mount of Olives, Christ
bearing His Cross, The Dead Christ, Saint Francis and Saint
Anthony of Padua. Dispersed among English Collections.
9. THE MADONNA, *The Countess Alfani's*. Alfani Collection at Perugia.
49. THE MADONNA, *with the Pink*. Spada Collection at Lucca.

- No.
12. THE MADONNA, *Count Staffa's*. Collection Della Staffa.
92. THE MADONNA, *with the Fish (au poisson)*. Madrid Museum.
273. THE MADONNA, *with the Rose*. Madrid Museum.
53. THE MADONNA, *La Belle Jardinière*. Louvre.
83. THE MADONNA, *with the Diadem (au linge)*. Louvre.
39. THE MADONNA, *La Petite*, of the Orleans Gallery. Delessert Collection, Paris.
10. THE MADONNA, *with Saint Jérôme and Saint Francis*. Berlin Museum.
22. THE MADONNA, *The Duke of Terranuova's*. Berlin Museum.
7. THE MADONNA, *The Solly*. Berlin Museum.
52. THE MADONNA, *The Colonna*. Berlin Museum.
238. THE MADONNA, *di San Sisto*. Dresden Gallery.
222. THE MADONNA, *della Tenda*. Munich Museum.
32. THE MADONNA, *The Tempi*. Munich Museum.
31. THE MADONNA, *in the Meadow*. Vienna Museum.
55. THE MADONNA, *The Esterhazy*. Esterhazy Gallery, Vienna.
81. THE MADONNA, *della Casa d'Alba*. The Hermitage, St. Petersburg.
89. THE MADONNA, *The Orleans*. Bridgewater Gallery.
26. THE MADONNA, *The Ansidei*. Blenheim.
51. THE MADONNA, *The Cowper (1508)*. Panshanger.
23. THE MADONNA, *The small Cowper (1505)*. Panshanger.
82. THE MADONNA, *Aldobrandini*. (Lord Garvagh's). National Gallery.
223. THE MADONNA, *with the candelabra*. (Formerly Mr. Munro's).
90. THE MADONNA, *with the Holy Child standing*. Formerly in the Orleans Gallery. In England.
50. THE MADONNA, *with the Infant Jesus asleep*. Lost.
80. THE MADONNA, *di Loreto*. Lost.

Subjects relating to the Virgin.

15. THE MARRIAGE OF THE VIRGIN. (*Lo Sposalizio*). Brera, Milan.
103. THE ANNUNCIATION. In the embrasure of a window in the Chamber of Heliodorus.
225. THE VISITATION. Madrid Museum.
11. THE CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN. Vatican.
248. THE CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN. Finished by G. Romano and F. Penni. Vatican.

No.

196. THE CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN. Tapestry for the Sistine Chapel.
Lost.

Saints.

74. SAINT AUGUSTINE ON THE SEA SHORE. In the Chamber of the "Segnatura," Vatican.
18. SAINT GEORGE WITH THE SWORD. Louvre.
37. SAINT GEORGE ARMED WITH A LANCE. Hermitage, St. Petersburg.
240. SAINT JOHN THE BAPTIST. Florence Gallery.
228. THE ARCHANGEL MICHAEL. Louvre.
19. THE ARCHANGEL MICHAEL, *Le Petit*. Louvre.
3. THE ARCHANGELS MICHAEL AND RAPHAEL. National Gallery.
5. CORONATION OF SAINT NICHOLAS DE TOLENTINO. Formerly at Citta di Castello.
101. DELIVERANCE OF SAINT PETER. Fresco in the Chamber of Heliodorus, Vatican.
16. SAINT SEBASTIAN. Lochis Collection, Bergamo.
29. CAMALDULITE SAINTS SURROUNDING THE HOLY TRINITY. Fresco at San Severo.
47. SAINT CATHERINE OF ALEXANDRIA. National Gallery.
109. SAINT CECILIA. Bologna Museum.
208. MARTYRDOM OF SAINT CECILIA. Fresco in the chapel of the Pope's country-house.
8. MARY MAGDALEN AND SAINT CATHERINE. Camuccini Collection, Rome.
230. SAINT MARGARET. Louvre.
231. SAINT MARGARET. (Repetition). Vienna Gallery.

Mythological and Allegorical Subjects,

IN THE CHAMBER OF THE "SEGNATURA" IN THE VATICAN.

58. MOUNT PARNASSUS. A fresco.
68. THE JUDGMENT OF APOLLO AGAINST MARSYAS. On the ceiling.
64. ALLEGORICAL FIGURE OF POETRY. On the ceiling.
63. ALLEGORICAL FIGURE OF THEOLOGY. On the ceiling.
65. ALLEGORICAL FIGURE OF PHILOSOPHY. On the ceiling.
66. ALLEGORICAL FIGURE OF JURISPRUDENCE. On the ceiling.

No.

69. ALLEGORICAL FIGURE OF ASTRONOMY. On the ceiling.
 60. PRUDENCE, FORTITUDE, MODERATION. Frescoes.
 PHILOSOPHY. On the dado.
 SCIENCE (of things Divine). On the dado.
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102. TWELVE ALLEGORICAL FIGURES and Twelve small Compositions, on the walls of the Chamber of Heliodorus in the Vatican.
 209 to 215. SEVEN MYTHOLOGICAL SUBJECTS. Frescoes in the bath-room of Cardinal Bibiena.
 216. SIX CUPIDS VICTORIOUS. Beneath the frescoes.
 217. CUPID AND PAN On the ceiling.
 106. GALATEA. At La Farnesina, Rome.
 239. CUPID AND PSYCHE. Frescoes in the Loggie de la Farnesina.
 42. THE THREE GRACES. Earl Dudley's Collection.
 CUPIDS PLAYING. Five subjects, tapestries. Lost.
 13. VISION OF A KNIGHT. National Gallery.

Subjects from Ancient History.

105. THE SIBYLS. Four frescoes at Santa Maria della Pace, Rome.
 218. MARRIAGE OF ALEXANDER AND ROXANA. Fresco in the Villa Raphael, Rome.

IN THE CHAMBER OF THE "SEGNATURA" IN THE VATICAN.

74. THE SIBYL OF TIBUR. On the dado.
 74. SOLON TEACHING THE GREEKS. On the dado.
 71. ALEXANDER THE GREAT DEPOSITING THE WORKS OF HOMER IN THE TOMB OF ACHILLES. In "grisaille," beneath the "Parnassus."
 73. THE JUDGMENT OF SELEUCUS. In the embrasure of a window.
 74. SIEGE OF SYRACUSE. On the dado.
 74. THE DEATH OF ARCHIMEDES. On the dado.
 59. THE SCHOOL OF ATHENS. Fresco.
 72. THE EMPEROR AUGUSTUS FORBIDDING THE BURNING OF VIRGIL'S ÆNEID. In "grisaille."
 74. A PAGAN SACRIFICE. On the dado.
 74. EASTERN MAGICIANS. On the dado.

Subjects relating to the Church.

- No.
57. THEOLOGY. The Dispute concerning the Holy Sacrament (*La Disputa*). In the Chamber of the "Segnatura," Vatican.
98. HELIODORUS DRIVEN FROM THE TEMPLE. Fresco in the Chamber of Heliodorus in the Vatican.
99. THE MASS OF BOLSENO. A fresco in the same chamber.
244. THE BAPTISM OF CONSTANTINE. In the Hall of Constantine, Vatican.
242. CONSTANTINE ADDRESSING HIS SOLDIERS. In the Hall of Constantine, Vatican.
245. THE DONATION OF THE CITY OF ROME TO THE POPE. In the Hall of Constantine, Vatican.
103. CONSTANTINE GIVING THE CITY OF ROME TO THE POPE. In the embrasure of a window in the Hall of Heliodorus.
247. SUBJECTS FROM THE HISTORY OF CONSTANTINE. In the Hall of Constantine, Vatican.
115. CORONATION OF CHARLEMAGNE. Fresco in the Chamber of the "Incendio del Borgo," Vatican.
62. GREGORY IX. GIVING THE "DECRETALS." Fresco in the Chamber of the "Segnatura."
114. THE OATH OF LEO III. Fresco in the Chamber of the "Incendio del Borgo."
116. THE FIRE IN THE BORGO. Fresco in the chamber bearing that name.
118. SIX PROTECTORS OF THE CHURCH OF ROME. On the bases of the same chamber.
246. EIGHT POPES, WITH ALLEGORICAL FIGURES. Hall of Constantine.
103. A POPE CELEBRATING MASS. In the embrasure of a window in the Hall of Heliodorus.

Battles.

243. THE BATTLE OF CONSTANTINE. In the Hall of Constantine, in the Vatican.
100. THE MEETING OF THE HORDES OF ATILA. Fresco in the Chamber of Heliodorus.
117. THE VICTORY OVER THE SARACENS. Fresco in the Chamber of the "Incendio del Borgo."

88 *Classified List of Paintings by Raphael.*

Portraits.

- No.
41. RAPHAEL, by himself. Florence Gallery.
77. RAPHAEL, by himself, (two copies). Lost.
75. POPE JULIUS II. Pitti Palace, Florence.
234. POPE LEO X. WITH THE CARDINALS JULIUS DE MEDICI AND LOUIS DE ROSSI. Pitti Palace.
235. LORENZO DE MEDICI, Duke of Urbino. Lost.
107. GIULIO DE MEDICI. Florence Gallery. (?)
108. BERNARDO DOVIZIO DA BIBIENA. Madrid Museum.
40. GUIDUBALDO, Duke of Urbino. Lost.
112. BALDASSARE CASTIGLIONE. Louvre.
76. MARCHESE FEDERICO DE MANTUA. Lucy Collection, England.
220. ANDREA NAVAGERO AND AGOSTINO BEAZZANO. Lost. Copies of these portraits are in the Doria Gallery, at Rome, where they pass for Bartolo and Baldo.
219. ANTONIO TEBALDEO. Lost.
88. BINDO ALTOVITI. Munich Museum.
104. FEDRA INGHIRAMI. Pitti Palace.
34. ANGELO DONI AND MADDALENA STROZZI. Pitti Palace.
43. DON BLASIO AND DON BALTASAR. Two Monks of the Monastery of Vallambrosa. Academy of Florence.
236. A PLAYER ON THE VIOLIN. Sciarra Colonna Palace, Rome.
24. A YOUNG MAN OF THE FAMILY OF RICCIO. Munich Museum.
79. A YOUNG MAN. Louvre.
14. A YOUNG MAN. Kensington Palace.
237. RAPHAEL'S MISTRESS. Pitti Palace.
78. RAPHAEL'S MISTRESS. Barberrini Palace, Rome.
233. JOANNA OF ARAGON. Louvre.
44. A YOUNG GIRL. Pitti Palace.
87. A WOMAN. Florence Gallery.
35. A WOMAN. Florence Gallery.

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